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MEXICO

AN OUTLINE SKETCH OF THE COUNTRY
ITS PEOPLE AND THEIR HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT

BY

T. PHILIP TERRY, F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF 'TERRY'S MEXICO,' 'TERRY'S JAPANESE EMPIRE,' ETC.

With colored Map

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1914

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BY T. PHILIP TERRY
1909

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL

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1909

FOREWORD

ALTHOUGH Mexico lies contiguous to the United States, it is much less accurately known to some than its importance warrants. As it, no doubt, is destined to bear a closer relation to us in the future than it has in the past, it is well that every American should know as much as possible about the country and its varied aspects.

Our chief aim in compiling this volume has been to present in a compact and inexpensive form, a wealth of compressed data relating to the History of Mexico and of the many races which inhabit it; and to its Physiography (Area, Boundaries, States, Mountains, Lakes, Rivers, Gulf of Mexico), Climate, Government, Constitution, Army and Navy, etc. The carefully arranged Chronological Table of the Chief Events in Mexican History from the Earliest Times to the Present, is uniquely interesting, and it forms an epitome of events and dates available for quick reference and peculiarly valuable to-day.

All the foregoing has been taken from the pages of *Terry's Guidebook to Mexico*, and the bracketed numbers and references which the reader will note in the text of the following pages relate to that volume. (See the advertisement at the end of this book.)

T. P. T.

HINGHAM, MASS., June, 1914.

MAPA DE LOS FERROCARRILES
DE LA
REPUBLICA MEXICANA
Made specially for Terry's Mexico.
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ZACATECAS
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Imperial Rs.
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Nogales
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Ciudad Juarez
El Paso
Sierra Blanco
Hanchería
Ojo Caliente
Presidio del Norte
Ensenada de Todos Santos
Puerto Isabel
Magdalena
Cananea
Agua Prieta
San Pedro
Nacozari
Cajon Grande
Esperanza
Galigo
Casas Grandes
Corralitos
Ures
Tonichi
Rosa
Empalme
Corral
Navajoa
Alamos
Bocoyna
Minas
Calihabua
Santa Eulalia
Tamosale
Santa Rosalia
Sierra Mojada
Jimenez
Monclova
Guimbalete
Castro
Cienegas
Resta
Saucedo
Parral
Rosario
Concejos
Mapimi
Torreon
Gomez
El Oro
Topia
Mesa de Angeles
Ramon
Culiacan
Sn. Pedro
Durango
Chiore
Pacheco
Nombre de Dios
Sombrerete
Gutierrez
Zacatecas
Salinas
Aguas Calientes
Encarnacion
Lagos de Moreno
Guadalajara
Zacoalco
Ameca
Tepic
Cerro Verde
Ciudad Porfirio
Carbon
Musquiz
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Carlos
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Aguas Calientes
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Zacoalco
Ameca
Tepic
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Nuevo Laredo
Matamoros
Monterey
Saltillo
Linares
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Ciudad Victoria
San José
Matehuala
Tampico
Tuxpan
Tuxpam
Ebano
Rosita
Valles
Ciudad Mante
Tamiahua
Progreso
Campeche
Champoton
Tizimuni
Merida
Izamal
Peto
Valladolid
Bacalar
Chetumal
Corozal
Belize
Orizaba
Cordoba
Jalapa
Veracruz
Alvarado
Tlacotalpam
Minatitlan
Coatzacoalcos
Frontera
Villahermosa
Tenosique
Palenque
Comitan
Ocosingo
Tuxtla
Chiapa
Tapachula
Ocos
Puerto Barrios
Livingston
Izabal
Guatemala
Quezaltenango
Retalhuleu
Mazatenango
Escuintla
Amatitlan
Antigua
Chimaltenango
Solola
Totonicapan
Huehuetenango
Sacapulas
Nebaj
Chichicastenango
Quiche
Coban
Salama
Cobán
Acapulco
Chilpancingo
Iguala
Taxco
Cuernavaca
Tehuantepec
Salina Cruz
Gulf of Tehuantepec
Pacific Ocean
Mexico City
Puebla
Toluca
Pachuca
Tulancingo
Tula
Zacatecas
Aguascalientes
Guadalajara
Colima
Manzanillo
Morelia
Uruapan
Zamora
Lerma
Celaya
Irapuato
Guanajuato
Leon
Queretaro
San Luis Potosi
Tampico
Matamoros
Nuevo Laredo
Piedras Negras
Eagle Pass
Del Rio
Sanderson
Marfa
Alpine
Presidio
Ojinaga
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Douglas
Nogales
Guaymas
Hermosillo
Nogales
Yuma
Mexicali
Ensenada
Tijuana
Santa Rosalia
Guaymas
Mazatlan
Culiacan
Los Mochis
Topolobampo
Navojoa
Nogales
Tucson
Phoenix
Yuma
Gila Bend
Ajo
Sonoyta
Caborca
Puerto Peñasco
Gulf of California
Gulf of Mexico
Bay of Campeche
Yucatan
Territorio Quintana Roo
Campeche
Merida
Progreso
Peto
Belize
British Honduras
Central America
Honduras
Guatemala
Salvador
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Panama
100°
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Physiography: Area. Boundaries. The Mexican States. Government. Army and Navy. Mountains. Lakes. Rivers. Gulf of Mexico.

La República Mejicana — often called Old Mexico — extends from north latitude 14° 30′ to 32° 42′, and from 12° 18′ 46″ of E. longitude to 18° 6′ 15″ of longitude W. of the Meridian of Mexico City, or between 86° 46′ 8″ and 117° 7′ 8″ west of Greenwich. It is bounded on the N. by the U. S. A., on the S. by Guatemala, on the E. by the *Golfo de Méjico*, and on the W. by the Pacific Ocean. It has a coast-line of 6000 miles, and a superficial area of 1,958,912 sq. kilom., or 766,000 sq. miles. Its greatest length, mainly represented by the gigantic dorsal ridge of the Sierra Madre, is 1,970 M. in a straight line from the northwestern extremity of Lower California to the southern border of the State of Chiapas. Its maximum breadth, from E. to W. on the line of N. latitude 26°, is about 750 M. and its minimum, at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, 140 miles.

Within this vast territory are many places replete with interest. The wonderful ruined palaces of the Peninsula of Yucatan; the *Casas Grandes*, or Big Houses, of the State of Chihuahua; the dead cities of Palênque, buried in the fastnesses of the almost impenetrable tropic forests of the State of Chiapas, and the mute and extraordinarily attractive tombs of the vanished Zapotec and Mixtec Indian Kings, of Oaxaca State, are as sustainedly interesting as the stupendous pre-Colombian pyramids of Papantla, Cholula, and San Juan Teotihuacan.

The *Rio Grande* (big river) represents a part of the dividing line between Mexico and the United States, but the unstable character of this river, and its persistent efforts to change its course, occasion many international discussions. New Spain once included all the territory lying between N. latitude 15° and 42°; by the treaty between Spain and the U. S. A. (Feb. 22, 1819) the northern boundary was placed at the mouth of the Sabine River, in Texas; by the Treaty of Guadalupe, Feb. 2, 1848, the dividing line was fixed at the *Rio Grande*. Prior to this treaty the area of Mexico was 1,650,000 sq. miles, but the U. S. A. gained over half this territory and an additional 100,000 sq. miles. By the "Gadsden Purchase" Convention (1853) the U. S. A. secured a further addition of 45,535

sq. miles. Mexico stands fourth, on the American continent, in its possession of territory, being somewhat smaller than the U. S. A. (including the Dominion of Canada), Brazil, and the Argentine Republic.

The main body of the **Mexican Territory** is a vast table-land, a distinct geographical region, traversed by extensive mountain chains of remarkable heights. These mountains (*Sierra Madre* or Mother Range), a continuation of the Cordillera of South America, trend northwesterly from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and have but a moderate elevation in the southern States of Chiapas and Oaxaca. But farther north the mean altitude is 9,000 ft. above sea-level, and two peaks, *Popocatepetl* and *Orizaba*, rise to great elevations: the latter forms the culminating point of Mexico. At the 21st parallel the Cordillera becomes very wide, and divides itself into three ranges. The eastern branch runs to Saltillo and Monterey; the western traverses the States of Jalisco and Sinaloa, and subsides in northern Sonora; while the central ridge extends through the States of Durango and Chihuahua, forming the water-shed of the northern table-land. The range decreases in elevation going northward. In these cross-ridges (due to igneous action), thrown out from the longitudinal system, are many volcanoes; nine exceeding 10,000 ft. and twenty or more rising above 4,000 ft. (comp. mts. and altitudes).

The great plateau (*mesa*) is about 1,500 M. in length, by 530 in breadth, with a mean height of 6,000 ft. above the sea-level: it is known as *La Mesa Central de Anáhuac*, and it is widest in the latitude of Mex. City. The surface is cut up into numerous *barrancas* (ravines), some of great depth. Two passes afford outlets to the eastward; one at Jalapa, now traversed by the Interoceanic Rly., and through which *Cortés* built a road during the Conquest: and one at Saltillo, at present utilized by the National Rlys. Through this pass the American soldiers climbed to the plateau during the Mexican War. The central plateau is subdivided into four minor *mesas: Toluca*, with a mean elevation of 8,570 ft.; *Actópan*, with a mean of 6,450 ft.; *Ixtla*, 3,320, and the Valley of Mexico, 7,470 ft.

Configuration of the Coast. The Atlantic coast line is about 1,600 M. long, and the Pacific (and Gulf of California) about 4,200. The eastern coast is extremely fertile. The most important ports are Vera Cruz, Tampico, Progreso (in Yucatan), Campeche, El Carmen, Frontera, Coatzacoalcos (Isthmus of Tehuantepec), Tuxpam, and Matamoros. Vera Cruz ranks highest, with Tampico next. The western coast is fertile and possesses some splendid harbors. Chief among them are Acapulco and Guaymas; the latter, according to Mex. geographers, one of the safest harbors on the globe. Manzanillo is of consid-

erable importance, and Salina Cruz, the Pacific terminus of the Isthmian Route, is perhaps destined to become as celebrated as Port Said. Pacific coast ports of minor importance are Agiabampo, Topolobampo, Altata, San Blas, Las Penas, Chamela, Zihuatanejo, Puerto Angel, Tonalá, and San Benito. The Pacific coast is healthier than the Atlantic. The country contiguous to both is low; but the land rises gradually toward the interior. The flat region of the eastern *tierra caliente* has an average breadth of 65 M.: that of the western varies from 40 to 70 M. Earthquakes (*terremotos*, *temblores*) are somewhat frequent.

"We are accustomed to consider Mexico as lying entirely south of the United States, and as entirely hot and tropical; but nearly one half of the area is north of the southernmost points of the U. S. A. Furthermore, one half of its area, even much of that extending into the tropics, is cool and temperate.

"Mexico lies at the meeting-place of two zones, — the temperate and the torrid; and from its geographical position, combined with its varying altitudes, possesses a greater variety of soil, surface, and vegetation than any equal extent of contiguous territory in the world. Basking in the sunshine of the tropics, her head pillowed in the lap of the North, her feet resting at the gateway of the continents, her snowy bosom rising to the clouds, she rests serene in the majesty of her might. She guards vast treasures of gold and silver, emeralds and opals adorn her brow, while the hem of her royal robe, dipped in the seas of two hemispheres, is embroidered with pearls and the riches of ocean.

"Mother of Western civilization! cradle of the American race! a thousand years have been gathered into the sheaf of time since her first cities were built. When the Norsemen coasted our northern shores, she had towns and villages, and white-walled temples and palaces. When the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, a hundred years had already passed since the soldiers of *Cortés* had battled with the hosts of *Montezuma*. In no country in the world can you pass so rapidly from zone to zone, — from the blazing shores of the heated tropics to the region of perpetual winter, from the land of the palm and vine to that of the pine and lichen, — for in 12 hours this can be accomplished, and the traveller may ascend a snow-peak with the sands of the shore still upon his shoes." (*Travels in Mexico*, F. A. Ober.)

STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES

(*Estados y Territorios de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos.*)

	States and T.	Abbreviations	Area in sq. kilóm.	Pop.
1.	Aguascalientes	Ags.	7,644	105,000
2.	Campeche	Camp.	46,855	86,542
3.	Chiapas	Chis.	70,524	360,599
4.	Chihuahua	Chi.	227,468	327,800
5.	Coahuila	Coah.	161,550	297,000
6.	Colima	Col.	5,587	65,120
7.	Durango	Dgo.	98,470	370,294
8.	Guanajuato	Gto.	29,458	1,061,724
9.	Guerrero	Gro.	64,756	479,205
10.	Hidalgo	Hgo.	23,101	605,000
11.	Jalisco	Jal.	82,503	1,153,891
12.	Mexico	Mex.	23,957	934,463
13.	Michoacan	Mich.	52,261	931,000
14.	Morelos	Mor.	7,184	160,500
15.	Nuevo Leon	N. L.	62,998	400,000
16.	Oaxaca	Oax.	91,664	986,000
17.	Puebla	Pueb.	31,616	1,150,000
18.	Querétaro	Qro.	9,215	232,389
19.	San Luis Potosí	S. L. P.	65,586	600,000
20.	Sinaloa	Sin.	87,231	296,701
21.	Sonora	Son.	199,244	221,682
22.	Tabasco	Tab.	26,094	160,000
23.	Tamaulipas	Tam.	84,394	218,948
24.	Tlaxcala	Tlax.	4,132	172,315
25.	Vera Cruz	V. C. (also *Ver.*)	75,651	981,030
26.	Yucatan	Yuc.	91,201	314,087
27.	Zacatecas	Zac.	63,386	462,190
28.	Territorio de Baja California	B. C.	151,109	47,624
29.	Territorio de Tepic	Tepic	29,211	150,098
30.	Distrito Federal	D. F.	1,200	600,000

For the purposes of civil administration the Mexican Republic is divided into a Federal District, 27 States and 2 Territories, known as the Estados Unidos Mexicanos. The States are free and sovereign in all matters pertaining to their internal administration, their government being vested in the State Government, State Legislature, and State Judicial Power. For convenience the States and Territories are classified as follows, according to their situation: —

CENTRAL STATES: Federal District, Aguascalientes, Durango, Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Mexico, Morelos, Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Tlaxcala, and Zacatecas, with an area of 372,480 sq. kilómetros.

GULF STATES: Campeche, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, and its adjacent *Territorio* of Quintana Roo, 323,610 sq. kilom.

NORTHERN STATES: Chihuahua (largest, with an area of nearly 90,000 sq. miles), Coahuila (which once comprised Texas), Nuevo Leon, and Sonora, with 658,032 sq. kilom.

PACIFIC STATES: Colima, Chiapas, Guerrero, Jalisco, Michoacan, Oaxaca, Sinaloa, with the territories of Baja

(Lower) California, and Tepic; the combined area measuring 629,037 sq. kilom.

These vast possessions represent the most highly mineralized region on the globe. In some of the States, three harvests are annually secured. There are 52 varieties of mammal quadrupeds, 203 varieties of fowls, 50 kinds of humming-birds, 353 species of birds, 77,000 (catalogued) coleoptera, 43 classes of reptiles, 13 batrachians, and a greater variety of plant life than is known to exist in any other country. For detailed information referring to the above States and Territories, consult the different headings in the Handbook.

The present **Constitution of Mexico**, promulgated Feb. 5, 1857, and subsequently amended, declares that the Mexican Republic is established under the representative, democratic, and federal form of government, composed of states free and sovereign in everything relating to their internal administration, but united in one single federation in accordance with the principles set forth in the said Constitution. The Supreme Government is divided into three coördinate branches: Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. The legislative power of the nation is vested in a general Congress, consisting of two Chambers, the Deputies, and the Senate. The Chamber of Deputies is composed of representatives of the nation elected every two years by the Mexican citizens and in the proportion of one Deputy for every 40,000 inhabitants, or fraction over 20,000, the term of service being two years. The requisite qualifications are similar to those of other countries. The Senate consists of two Senators for each State and the Federal District, chosen in the same manner as the Deputies, and subject to certain limitations of age, etc.

The Congress has two ordinary sessions annually — the first, which may be extended 30 days, beginning on Sept. 16 (the great national holiday) and ending on Dec. 15, and the second, which may be prorogued for 15 days, convening on the 1st of April and adjourning on the last day of May.

The Executive Power is lodged in a single individual, known as the President (*presidente*) of the United Mexican States, with a salary of $50,000 a year. There is also a Vice-President.

The *Presidente* is elected indirectly by electors chosen by the people. His term of office is six years (law of May 6, 1904), commencing on the 1st day of Dec. after election. By an amendment to the Constitution, under date of Dec. 20, 1890, he may be reëlected indefinitely.

The judicial power is vested in the Supreme Court of Justice and the District and Circuit Courts. The Government of the States is divided into the same branches as the General Government. The States are divided politically, as a rule, into districts governed by a *jefe político*, or a prefect, who is

responsible to the governor — *gobernador*. The minor divisions are *municipalidades;* the local authority being an *ayuntamiento*, corresponding to the town council in the U. S. A. The main clauses of the Constitution, with respect to the rights of men, are similar to those of other advanced countries. Aliens enjoy the civil rights belonging to Mexicans, but they can be expelled (Article 33) from the country if they prove to be pernicious to the Government.

Mexico has a small navy, and an effective army of about 40,000 men. The normal revenue of the Government is about 100 million *pesos*; the expenditures amounting to about 93 millions. The national debt is about $380,000,000. Mexico's foreign credit is high.

The Army (*ejército*) is composed of regular and auxiliary troops of the reserve; the strength of the former is fixed by law at 30,000 men, that of the reserve at 28,000, and that of the second reserve at 150,000. The infantry is armed with Mauser rifles of the pattern of 1901, 7mm. calibre, and with "Porfirio Diaz" rifles; the cavalry with carbines of the same pattern. *Schneider* rapid-fire mounted guns are used. The effective strength of the army in time of war is given at 3,500 officers, 120,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 6,000 artillery. At present the regular army establishment is made up of sections quartered at different points in the Republic.

The Navy (*marina de guerra*) is modest, and was established simply to meet the requirements of coast patrol necessary to a country at peace with all. The personnel of the navy consists of some 150 officers and about 350 men.

Mexico is a land of **High Mountains**; it is estimated that there are 156 mts. of a volcanic character scattered through the mt. ranges of the Repub. The following are the highest:

Name	Height	States
Orizaba or *Citlaltepetl* (p. 496)	18,225	Vera Cruz
Popocatepetl (p. 463)	17,782	Mexico
Iztaccihuatl (p. 464)	16,060	Mexico and Puebla
Xinantecatl, or Nevado de Toluca (p. 199)	15,000	Mexico
Matlalcueyatl, or Malintzi (p. 497)	14,740	Tlaxcala
Ajusco (p. 434)	13,612	Federal District
Nauchampatepetl (p. 504)	13,403	Vera Cruz
Volcan de Colima (p. 186)	12,782	Jalisco
Pico de Tancitaro (p. 224)	12,653	Michoacan
Cerro de Patamban (p. 224)	12,290	"
Zempoaltepetl (p. 541)	11,965	Oaxaca
Los Llanitos (p. 145)	11,013	Guanajuato
Pico de Quinceo (p. 224)	10,835	Michoacan
Gigante (p. 145)	10,653	Guanajuato

Lakes. There are many lakes (*lagos*) in Mexico, and most of them are high among the mountains or on the great central plateau. As a rule they are beautiful sheets of water, amid at-

tractive surroundings. The chief lakes are *Chapala; Patzcuaro; Cuitzeo; Texcoco; Zirahuen; Yuririapúndaro; Zipimeo* and *Tecacho;* and the *Laguna de los Caimanes.*

Very few bays indent the coast. Among these are *Ascensión, Espíritu Santo,* and *Chetmul,* on the Yucatan Peninsula; *Manzanillo,* on the Pacific; and *Magdalena* and others in Lower California. The east coast is broken by extensive lagoons (*lagunas*) like that of *Términos* in Campeche State. The great *Gulf of California* separates the peninsula of that name from the main portion of Mexico. The only peninsulas are *Lower California* and *Yucatan.* Some islands of minor importance lie off the coasts.

The Mexican River System is neither varied nor extensive. The rugged configuration of the country converts most of the rivers into impetuous torrents, which quickly drain the surface of the table-land and form innumerable waterfalls as they plunge downward to the *tierra caliente,* on their way to the sea. Even the longest rivers are navigable for but a short distance. Shallow draught steamboats ply inland on some of the southern rivers — the *Usumacinta,* the *Coatzacoalcos,* etc. Sand-bars obstruct the mouths of nearly all the rivers emptying into the ocean, and over these bars but three or four feet of water is found at low tide. The best known river (1,644 M. long) is the *Rio Grande del Norte,* which forms a part of the boundary-line between Mexico and the United States.

The Gulf of (*Golfo de*) Mexico, an arm of the Atlantic Ocean, is bounded on the N. by the United States and on the S. and W. by Mexico. It is oval in form: its greatest length is from E. to W., about 1,000 miles; from N. to S., about 800 M.; area about 700,000 sq. M. It has a continuous coast-line of about 3,000 M. Its maximum depth is about 12,715 ft., and within the basin, exclusive of the submerged coastal plain, the average depth is about 9,000 ft. The outlet of the Gulf is on the E. between the peninsulas of Yucatan and Florida, a distance of about 400 M. The Yucatan channel opens into the Caribbean Sea, and the Florida Strait enters the Atlantic.

The temperature of the Gulf is from 8° to 9° higher than in the Atlantic in the same latitude. The temperature at the point of greatest depth is 39½° C. The chief current is the Gulf Stream (a name applied to it by Benjamin Franklin), which enters the Gulf through the Yucatan Channel, circles the interior, and passes out through the Florida Strait. The basin off the Mexican coast sinks rapidly to the submarine plain, and a short distance from the shore reaches the maximum depth. The Bay of Campeche is the largest indentation. The level of the Gulf is thought to be a trifle higher than that of the Atlantic Ocean, which may account for the great velocity of the stream (from 60 to 120 miles per day), one of the strongest on record.

Health. Mexico is as healthy as any country similarly situated. The table-land, or Central Plateau, is unusually salubrious, and the natives sometimes reach an extreme old age. The intelligent traveller always takes certain precautions to guard against diseases prevalent where sanitary devices and hygienic methods are lacking, and similar measures should be adopted while in certain of the Mexican towns — chiefly in the hot lowlands. The one-time great scourges of tropical Mexico, yellow fever (*fiebre amarillo*) and cholera (*cólera*), have been permanently eradicated, but some of the coastal towns are not always free from malaria (*calenturas, malaria*) and typhoid (*fiebre tifoidea*). Typhus (*tifo*) is sometimes met with, and is usually traceable to indiscreet eating or drinking.

Population.

Population. The population of the Mexican Republic is about 15,000,000, almost equally divided between males and females. Of these, more than 8,000,000 who have reached their majority can neither read nor write. The census of 1900 recorded 8,000 persons over 90 years of age, and 700 over 100 years, out of the (then) total population of 13,605,819. There are 12,000,000 of Catholics, of whom about 3,000 are priests. Some 70,000 persons profess no religious belief, and 50,000 or more are divided among the ten different beliefs (with 277 ministers) from Protestant to Mahommedan, thence to Confucianism and Buddhism. The two latter beliefs (with Taoism) are professed by most of the ten thousand Chinese in the Republic, while the Japanese, of whom there are some 8,000, are mostly Shintoists. Of the total population 19% are of pure, or nearly pure, white race; 43% of mixed, and 38% of Indian race (comp. **Language**, p. xvi). Of the mixed Indian races only a small portion can be regarded as civilized. They are slowly but surely merging their identity with that of their neighbors; their national life is almost gone, child mortality among them is distressingly high — albeit the women are "much addicted to maternity" — and their customs — which are not distinguished for pulchritude — aid in their obliteration.

The Indians of Mexico enjoy all the political and civil rights of born Mexicans; but they exercise little influence on the government and destiny of the nation. Special laws for their protection are features of the Mexican code. There is little or no anti-foreign spirit among them. Some of the Indian women — not all of whom could be accused of extreme cleanliness — are very handsome, with large, soft, dark eyes and good features.

The foreign population includes the natives of forty or more countries and numbers over 100,000; of whom there are 30,000 Americans (who are in the majority), 20,000 Spaniards, and about 5,000 British. (American capital to the value of about $800,000,000 (gold) is invested in the Republic, and the English interests are enormous.) About 15,000 Americans and 3,000 or more British (including Canadians) dwell in Mexico City. This number is on the increase.

"The Mexican of to-day has the blood of more races in his veins than any other American. Iberian, Semite, Hamite, Goth and Vandal, Roman and Celt, mingled their blood in that stream of brave and adventurous men who first set eyes on Yucatan in 1517, and who conquered Mexico in 1522. Like Spain from the remotest time, Mexico soon became the meeting-ground of races, of peoples, of languages, and of religion. Within the area of its original territory there were more families of native languages than in all the Western Hemisphere besides; and, to complete the chain, there were more kinds and grades of culture there.[1] The *Seri* Indians, of Sonora (p. 80), are as abject as the Fuegians, while the *Nahuatl* and *Maya*-speaking tribes of the Valley of Mexico and of Yucatan occupied the most elevated position for culture in the New World.

"The origin of the Mexican aborigines is involved in that of the American Indians, since within the present boundaries of the Republic are gathered representatives of every zone from the *Apache*, an *Athapascan*, whose principal home is in Alaska, to the tribes of Oaxaca and Chiapas, who are the children of a torrid clime. There are now in Mexico perhaps ten times more Indians than were ever at any time within the United States domain."

The linguistic families in Mexico are as follows:

NAHUATLAN, 1,750,000. The tribes of this stock are found in almost unbroken continuity from Sinaloa along the Pacific slope to the border line of Guatemala. In the Valley of Mexico they occupied three districts, *Tezcuco*, *Tlacópan*, and the ancient city of Mexico. This family — known as Aztec, or Mexican — holds the most prominent position in the history of the Conquest.

PIMAN, 85,000. The *Opata-Pima* of the later Mexican authorities occupy the western northern States, as far south as *Guadalajara*, lying along the Gulf of California, except where they are cut off by the *Seri*, but they do not anywhere approach the ocean, being intercepted by the *Nahuatlan* tribes. This stock now occupies the site of the *Casas Grandes* (p. 54) and other adobe ruins, and it is reasonable to suppose that their ancestors were the builders and inhabitants of many

[1] Otis T. Mason; *Mexico*. International Bureau of American Republics, Washington.

ancient pueblos and cliff sites, both in Arizona and northern Mexico. The *Tarahumares* (p. 57) belong to this family.

YUMAN, 2,500. The lees of a great tribe which once inhabited the California peninsula.

SERIAN, 200. Dwell in the State of Sonora (p. 80) and on *Tiburon* Island (p. 80) off the coast.

TARASCAN, 250,000. Inhabitants of Michoacan, Guerrero, and Jalisco. (Comp. p. 181.)

ZOQUEAN, 60,000. Oaxaca chiefly; also Guerrero and Puebla. Some few dwell in Chiapas and Tabasco, between the *Mayan* and *Zapotecan* tribes. Little is known of their origin, save a tradition of their having come from the South.

TOTONACAN, 90,000. N. part of Puebla and Vera Cruz; their ancestors were the first natives encountered by Cortés.

ZAPOTECAN, 580,000. Chiefly in Oaxaca; also in Guerrero and Puebla. The ruins of *Mitla* (described at p. 534) are within their territory, with their wonderful artificial hills, stone buildings, fretworks in cut stones, columns, and wall paintings. *Benito Pablo Juarez* (p. 338) was a *Zapotec* Indian.

OTOMIAN, 709,734. A widely spoken language formerly. The tribes were among the earliest in the Valley of Mexico, and they spread themselves over the States of Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Querétaro (their special habitat), San Luis Potosí, and Michoacan. They are often called *Serranos* (mountaineers) because of their fondness for hilly country.

MAYAN, 400,000. Yucatan, Chiapas, and Vera Cruz. The advance guard of New World progress. Scholars have consecrated their lives worthily to the *Maya* civilization. To the *Mayas* are assigned the wonderful ruins of Palenque, in Chiapas, described at p. 567; of Copan, in Honduras, and of Uxmal (p. 580) and Chichen-Itza (p. 581), in Yucatan. The 42,000 *Huastecas*, of Vera Cruz, are of this family.

TEQUISTLATECAN, 31,000. A nondescript tribe dwelling, under various names, in Oaxaca.

HUAVAN, of which there are 5,000, dwell in Chiapas.

ATHAPASCAN (Apaches), 8,000, in northern Chihuahua, and the southwest of the U. S. A.

The above families are widely subdivided and as widely scattered.

For further information under this head consult *Mexico*, International Bureau of the American Republics, Government Printing Office, Washington, pp. 24 et seq.; *Native Races*, by Hubert Howe Bancroft, San Francisco, 1883.

Climate. The odd physical configuration of Mexico gives it many temperatures and three distinct climates, all, curiously enough, within a very few hours' ride of one another.

The relaxing *tierra caliente* (hot land) begins at the seacoast and extends inward and upward to an altitude of about 3,000 ft., where the air is usually delightful, with a yearly average temperature of 80°–88° Fahr. and an extreme of 100°–105°. The best-known towns lying along this littoral are *Merida* (p. 574), *Vera Cruz* (p. 469), *Campeche* (p. 569), and *Tampico*, on the Gulf, and *Guaymas* (p. 78), *Mazatlan* (p. 90), *Manzanillo* (p. 188), *Acapulco* (p. 460), and *Salina Cruz* on the Pacific. The winter climate (Dec.–Feb.) of these places is admirable — like early May days in the Central U. S. A. — but broken, at intervals, by furious *nortes* (p. 471), which lower the temperature and chill the marrow of the thin-blooded inhabitants. Oddly enough, the summer "dog-days" (*caniculares*) in Vera Cruz or Guaymas never scorch or stew one as do the "sizzards" of New York. The cool land breeze which blows seaward in the A. M. and returns at nightfall laden with salted ozone and coolness makes life in tropical, white-clad Vera Cruz, for example, with its palms and balconies and long midday *siestas*, far more supportable than in New York with its houses like huge furnaces and its heat-radiating streets.

The *tierra templada* (temperate land) lies between 3,200 and 6,500 ft., with an average all the year temperature of 73°–77° Fahr.; the variation during a season may not be more than 6° or 8°. The finest of the Mexican climates is found between these elevations. The immunity from heavy frosts is as complete as that from extreme humidity, noxious insects, and sudden temperature changes. Dryness is the emphatic quality, with freedom in the dry season (Oct.–May) from malaria and a perpetual exemption from the keen, cold winds of the higher altitudes and the hygienic deficiencies of the maritime regions. Semi-tropical products thrive side by side with those of the tropics, and there are farms where wheat and sugar-cane grow almost within touch of each other. Certain of the towns in this favored zone are natural, open-air sanitariums, and the warm, still days and cool, sleepful nights are tonics which bring many a sufferer (particularly from tuberculosis) back to health. One of these health stations is *Guadalajara* (p. 161), with an almost perfect climate aptly described as "June with October touches." Other towns in this land of eternal spring, noted for a climate particularly suited to invalids fearsome of quick temperature changes, are *Orizaba* (p. 489), *Oaxaca* (p. 528), *Cuauhtla* (p. 466), *Cuernavaca* (p. 436), etc. The latter place is celebrated for its attractive hotels; as being one of the most favored winter stations north of the Equator; and for some of the finest views in the Republic. It is unusually free from cold waves (*ondas frias*) and from

brusque climatic changes. The gradation of the seasons is so gentle that the trees take on their new spring leaves while still green with the verdure of the old year.

The *tierra fria* (cold country) — cold only in comparison to the heat at the coast — rises above the 6,500 ft. level and extends to snow-line (12,460 ft. in the tropics); above this the thermometer often sinks below freezing-point. The average temperature of the alleged *tierra fria* is 59°–62° Fahr. with slight changes except in winter, when a *norte* may bring a light snowfall to Mexico City and topple the mercury down to 30° or 40°. In Toluca and the high mountain towns, the thermometer has been known to register 20°. The rainfall in this region is only one fifth as much as that of the temperate zone. In the sunny pockets and sheltered valleys of the *tierra fria* the vegetation is often quite luxuriant.

Plants will grow on the southern side of a mountain which has snow on the opposite side. The sky over all the zones is noted for its unrivalled blue, and on any winter day he who seeks the sun in the morning will seek the shadows at noon. From the elevated mountain peaks one may look down past the temperate to the torrid zone; from the frozen cone of some volcano to the warm waters of the Gulf, embracing in one view all that class of vegetation which thrives between the Arctic Ocean and the Equator.

The climate of Mexico City is usually mild, but exhilarating; ranging during the year from 35° to 75° Fahr. with a mean temperature of 65°. Excepting in the winter, its greatest variations are generally between day and night on the same day. The tropical heat of the latitude is tempered by the altitude. Throughout the year the nights are delightfully cool, and a pair of heavy blankets are always requisite to comfortable sleep. During the short winter (Dec.–Feb.) the temperature is apt to be affected by the northers which blow down the Gulf. These monsoons of the western hemisphere sometimes precipitate light snowfalls or hail-storms in the capital, but the snow vanishes with the first touch of sunshine. Rarely a winter day passes without some sunshine, and then one instinctively seeks the shady side of the street.

The altitude is unsuitable for snakes, scorpions, and similar reptilia. It affects culinary operations, and recipes which give good results at sea-level have to be adjusted to suit the elevation. Food values decrease by one-third, it is said.

History and Races.

The authentic History of Mexico practically begins for us with the advent of the bold Castilian free lances who under the Great Captain, Hernan Cortéz, came so jauntily to the New World in search of militant adventure in the dim twilight of our time. Although these iron-willed men began at once to enact one of the most enthralling historical dramas that can be found in the annals of any country, accompanying them were certain religious bigots who made their own names as infamous and as unforgettable as the Spanish cavaliers, by deeds of appealing heroism, made theirs forever renowned. Blindly superstitious, and confessedly intolerant of the intellectual advancement which characterized the civilization discovered by the Spaniards in the Valley of Mexico, such men as *Father Landa*, the historian of the Spanish invasion of Yucatan, and *Juan de Zumárraga*, the first Bishop of Mexico, assembled all the Maya and Nahuatl picture-writings, manuscripts, books on medicine, astronomy, chronology, geology, and theology, piled them high in the market-place of the different Indian strongholds, and reduced them all to ashes.

At the time of the arrival of the Iberians great quantities of manuscripts were treasured up in the national archives of *Tezcuco*, in *Andhuac*, for this centre was one of the most cultivated capitals of the great Indian Confederacy. Numerous persons were employed in picture-writing and in the making of books and codices, and the dexterity of their operations excited the astonishment of the Spaniards. Unfortunately this was mingled with other and unworthy feelings. The strange, unknown characters on them excited suspicion. They were looked on as magic scrolls, and were regarded in the same light with the idols and temples, as symbols of a pestilent superstition that must be extirpated. Their destruction was an irreparable loss which mere words fail to express, for with the Indian libraries perished the records of the first Americans. Fortunately for posterity sufficient has been learned of the early races to convince one that "of all that extensive empire which once acknowledged the authority of Spain in the New World, no portion, for interest and importance, can be compared with Mexico: and this equally, whether we consider the variety of its soil and climate; the inexhaustible stores of its mineral wealth; its scenery, grand and picturesque beyond example; the character of its ancient inhabitants, not only far surpassing in intelligence that of the other North American races, but reminding us, by their monuments, of the primitive civilization of Egypt and Hindustan; or, lastly, the peculiar circumstances of its Conquest, adventurous and romantic as any legend devised by Norman or Italian bard of chivalry." (Prescott.)

The merciful hand of Providence has bestowed on the

Mexicans a magnificent land, abounding in resources of all kinds — a land where none ought to be poor, and where misery ought to be unknown — a land whose products and riches of every kind are abundant, and as varied as they are rich. It is a country endowed to profusion with every gift that man can desire or envy; all the metals from gold to lead; every sort of climate from perpetual snow to tropical heat, and inconceivable fertility. (Lemprière, *Notes on Mexico.*)

"The history of ancient Mexico is substantially that of the Valley of Mexico (*Vale of Anáhuac*), that beautiful spot where once beat the heart of the great Aztec Empire. Midway across the continent, somewhat nearer the Pacific than the Atlantic Ocean, it stands at an elevation of nearly 7,500 ft.; oval in form, about 37 leagues in circumference, and encompassed by a towering rampart of porphyritic rock, which nature seems to have provided, though ineffectually, to protect it from invasion. The soil, once carpeted with a beautiful verdure and thickly sprinkled with stately trees, is often bare, and, in many places, white with the incrustation of salts caused by the draining of the waters. Five lakes once spread over the valley, occupying one tenth of its surface. On the opposite border of the largest of these basins stood the cities of *Tenochtitlán* and *Tezcuco*, the capitals of the two most potent and flourishing States of *Anáhuac*, whose history, with that of the mysterious races that preceded them in the country, exhibits some of the nearest approaches to civilisation to be met with anciently on the North American continent.

"Of these races the most conspicuous were the Toltecs (people of *Tollan*). Advancing from a northerly direction, they entered the territory of *Anáhuac*, probably before the close of the seventh century. They established their capital at Tula, 50 M. north of the Mexican Valley, and the remains of extensive buildings are to be discerned there now. The noble ruins of religious and other edifices, still to be seen in various parts of Mexico, are referred to this people, whose name, Toltec, has passed into a synonym for architect. They were well instructed in agriculture and many of the most useful mechanical arts; were nice workers of metal; invented the complex arrangement of time adopted by the Aztecs (people of *Aztlan*), and were the true founders of the civilisation which distinguished this part of the continent in later times." (Prescott.)

After a period of four centuries the Toltecs disappeared from the land as silently and mysteriously as they had entered it. From their legends and their shadowy history the belief has been detached that *pulque* (p. lxxxii), which was discovered by them, caused their downfall and final disappearance.

After the lapse of another hundred years, a numerous and

rude tribe, called the Chichimecs (people of Chichimecan — *place of dogs*) entered the deserted country from the regions of the far North-west.[1] "They were speedily followed by other races, of higher civilization, perhaps of the same family with the Toltecs, whose language they appear to have spoken. The most noted of these were the Aztecs, or Mexicans (*Mexica*), and the *Acolhuas* ('people at the bend of the water'). The latter, better known in later times by the name of *Tezcucans* (from their capital, Tezcuco, on the eastern border of the Mexican lake), were peculiarly fitted, by their comparatively mild religion and manners, for receiving the tincture of civilization which could be derived from the few Toltecs that still remained in the country. This, in their turn, they communicated to the barbarous Chichimecs, a large portion of whom became amalgamated with the new settlers as one nation.

"The Mexicans came also from the remote regions of the North — the populous hive of nations in the New World — and arrived on the borders of *Anáhuac* toward the beginning of the 14th cent., some time after the occupation of the land by the kindred races. For a long time they did not establish themselves in any permanent residence, but continued shifting their quarters to different parts of the Mexican Valley. After a series of wanderings and adventures they at length halted on the south-western border of the principal lake, in the year 1325. They there beheld, perched on the stem of a prickly pear, which shot out from the crevices of a rock that was washed by the waves, a royal eagle of extraordinary size and beauty, with a serpent in its talons, and his broad wings opened to the rising sun. They hailed the auspicious omen, announced by an oracle as indicating the site of their future city, and laid its foundations by sinking piles into the shallows: for the low marshes were half-buried under water. On these they erected their light fabrics of reeds and rushes (*tules*), and sought a precarious subsistence from fishing, as well as the cultivation of such simple vegetables as they could raise on their floating gardens. The place was called *Tenochtitlán*[2] in token of its miraculous origin, though only known to Europeans by its other name of Mexico, derived from their war-god *Mexitli*."

a. **Montezuma and his Realm.** "After a lapse of two centuries we find the descendants of these people cemented into a strong and partly civilized nation, dwelling in palaces, in the midst of a barbaric pomp and splendor allied to the Oriental or Asiatic. From his palace in *Tenochtitlán* the King Montezuma wielded his sceptre over a wide and populous

[1] It is highly probable that these were Chinese.

[2] *Tenochtitlán*, from *tetl*, stone, *tlan*, on, and *nochtli*, cactus, is supposed also to have been named for the founder of the city, *Tenoch*.

domain. Many rich cities and villages dotted the Crown possessions, and the annual tributes received therefrom comprised cotton dresses and mantles of feather-work, exquisitely made; ornamented armor, vases and plates of gold; gold-dust, bands, and bracelets; crystal, gilt, and varnished jars and goblets; bells, arms, and utensils of copper; reams of maguey paper; grain, fruits, copal, amber, cochineal, cacao, wild animals, and birds, timber, mats, etc. Garrisons were established in the larger cities, and new territory was constantly being added to the already extensive domains of the empire. Communication was maintained with the remotest parts of the country by means of swift couriers. Post-houses were established on the great roads, about two leagues distant from each other. The courier, bearing his despatches in the form of a hieroglyphical painting, ran with them to the first station, where they were taken by another messenger and carried forward to the next, and so on until they reached the capital. Fresh fish was frequently served at Montezuma's table in 24 hours from the time it had been taken from the Gulf of Mexico, 260 miles from the capital.

"A vast army was maintained; the dress of the warriors being picturesque and often magnificent. Their bodies were covered with a close vest of quilted cotton, so thick as to be impenetrable to the light missiles of Indian warfare. This garment was so light and serviceable that it was adopted by the Spaniards. The wealthier chiefs sometimes wore a cuirass made of thin plates of gold and silver. Over it was thrown a surcoat of the gorgeous feather-work in which they excelled. Their helmets were sometimes of wood, fashioned like the heads of wild animals, and sometimes of silver, on the top of which waved a *panache* of variegated plumes, sprinkled with precious stones and ornaments of gold.

"They wore also collars, bracelets, and ear-rings of the same rich materials. Their weapons were the deadly *maquahuitl* and the javelin. The style and quality of the dress of the inhabitants of *Anáhuac* were superior to those of the folks along the seacoast. The *tilmantli*, or cloak, thrown over the shoulders and tied around the neck, made of cotton of different degrees of fineness, according to the condition of the wearer, and the ample sash around the loins, were often wrought in rich and elegant figures and edged with a deep fringe or tassel. As the weather grew cool, mantles of fur or of the gorgeous feather-work were sometimes substituted. The latter combined the advantages of great warmth and beauty. The Mexicans had also the art of spinning a fine thread of the hair of the rabbit and other animals, which they wove into a delicate web that took a permanent dye.

"The women wore several skirts or petticoats of different lengths, with highly ornamented borders, and sometimes over them loose, flowing robes, which reached to the ankles. These, also, were made of cotton, for the wealthier classes, of a fine texture, prettily embroidered. The Aztec women had their faces exposed, and their dark, raven tresses floated luxuriantly over their shoulders, revealing features which, although of dusky or rather cinnamon hue, were not unfrequently pleasing, while touched with the serious, even sad expression characteristic of the national physiognomy.

"*The Palace of Montezuma* occupied one side of what is now the *Plaza Mayor*, of the new city. This pile of buildings spread over an extent of ground so vast that, as one of the conquerors said, 'its terraced roof might have afforded ample room for thirty knights to run their courses in a regular tourney.' Its interior decorations were gorgeous; its walls were covered with fanciful draperies, its roofs inlaid with cedar and other odoriferous woods.

"The *tianquiz*, or GREAT MARKET, was usually the centre of animation in ancient *Anáhuac*, and there the customs of the people could be best observed. The market-place was surrounded by deep porticoes, and the several articles had each its own quarter allotted to it. According to *Cortés*, who was astonished at the multitudes assembled there, the market-place was thrice as large as the celebrated square of Salamanca. Here might be seen cotton piled up in bales, or manufactured into dresses and articles of domestic use, as tapestry, curtains, coverlets, and the like. The richly stained and nice fabrics reminded *Cortés* of the silk-market of Granada. There was the quarter assigned to the goldsmiths, where the purchaser might find various articles of ornament or use formed of the precious metals, or curious toys, made in imitation of birds and fishes, with scales and feathers alternately of gold and silver, and with movable heads and bodies. These fantastic little trinkets were often garnished with precious stones, and showed a patient, puerile ingenuity in their manufacture, like that of the Chinese.

"In this market were met together traders from all parts, with the products and manufactures peculiar to their countries; the goldsmiths of *Azcapotzalco*, the potters and jewellers of *Cholula*, the painters of *Tezcuco*, the stone-cutters of *Tenajocan*, the hunters of *Xilotepec*, the fishermen of *Cuitlahuac*, the fruiterers of the *tierra caliente*, the mat and chair makers of *Quauhtitlan*, and the florists of *Xochimilco*, — all busily engaged in recommending their wares and chaffering with purchasers.

"In an adjoining quarter were collected specimens of pottery, coarse and fine, vases of wood elaborately carved, varnished or gilt, of curious and sometimes graceful forms. There were also hatchets made of copper alloyed with tin, which the natives used instead of iron. The soldier found here all the implements of his trade; the casque fashioned into the head of some wild animal, with its grinning defences of teeth, and bristling crest dyed with the rich tint of the cochineal; the *escaupil* or quilted doublet of cotton, the rich surcoat of feather-mail, and weapons of all sorts, copper-headed lances and arrows, and the broad *maquahuitl* with its sharp blades of *itzli* (obsidian). Here were razors and mirrors of this same hard and polished material, which served so many of the purposes of steel with the Aztecs. In the square were

also to be found booths occupied by barbers, who used these same razors in their vocation. For the Mexicans, contrary to the popular and erroneous notions respecting the aborigines of the New World, had beards, though scanty ones. Other shops and booths were tenanted by apothecaries, well provided with drugs, roots, and different medicinal preparations. In other places again, blank books or maps for the hieroglyphical picture-writing were to be seen, folded together like fans, and made of cotton, skins, or more commonly the fibre of the *agave*, the Aztec papyrus.

"Animals, both wild and tame, were offered for sale, and near them, perhaps, a gang of slaves with collars round their necks, intimating they were likewise on sale. The display of provisions was also an attractive feature of the great *tianguiz*. There were meats of all kinds, domestic poultry, game from the neighboring mountains, fish from the lakes and streams, fruits in all the delicious abundance of these temperate regions, green vegetables, and the unfailing maize. There was many a viand, too, ready dressed, which sent up its savory steams provoking the appetite of the idle passenger, pastry, bread of the Indian corn (maize), cakes, and confectionery. Along with these were to be seen cooling or stimulating beverages, the spicy foaming *chocolatl*, with its delicate aroma of vanilla, and the inebriating *pulque*, the fermented juice of the aloe. All these commodities, and every stall and portico, were set out, or rather smothered, with flowers, showing — on a much greater scale, indeed — a taste similar to that displayed in the modern markets of modern Mexico.

"The Spaniards often visited the place, and no one states the amount of people seen in the *tianguiz* at less than forty thousand. Every fifth day the city swarmed with a motley crowd of strangers, not only from the vicinity, but from many leagues around; the causeways were thronged, and the lake was darkened by canoes filled with traders flocking to the great market. It resembled, indeed, the periodical fairs in Europe, not as they exist now, but as they existed in the Middle Ages.

"There were amongst us," says the chronicler *Bernal Dias*, "soldiers who had been in many parts of the world, — in Constantinople and in Rome and through all Italy, — and who said that a market-place so large, so well ordered and regulated, and so filled with people, they had never seen."

The GREAT TEOCALLI, in the midst of a vast area (on the site of the present cathedral), was one of the "sights" of the ancient city. It was constructed by AHUIZOTL, who celebrated its dedication, in 1486, by a great hecatomb of victims, estimated at 20,000. It was encompassed by a wall of lime and stone, about 8 ft. high, ornamented on the outer side by figures of serpents (a common emblem in the sacred sculpture of

Anáhuac) raised in relief, which gave it the name of *coatepantli*, or wall of serpents. This wall, which was quadrangular, was pierced by huge, battlemented gateways, opening on the four principal streets of the capital. Over each of the gates was a kind of arsenal, filled with arms and warlike gear. Adjoining, were barracks, garrisoned by ten thousand soldiers, who served as a sort of military police for the capital, supplying the emperor with a strong arm in case of tumult or sedition.

The *teocalli* itself was a solid pyramidal structure of earth and pebbles, coated on the outside with hewn stones. It was square, with its sides facing the cardinal points. It was divided into five bodies or stories, each one receding so as to be of smaller dimensions than that immediately below it. The ascent was made by a flight of steps on the outside, which reached to the narrow terrace or platform at the base of the second story, passing quite round the building, when a second stairway led to a similar landing at the base of the third. The breadth of this walk was just so much space as was left by the retreating story next above it. From this construction the visitor was obliged to pass round the whole edifice four times in order to reach the top. "This had a most imposing effect in the religious ceremonials, when the pompous procession of priests with their wild minstrelsy came sweeping round the huge sides of the pyramid, as they rose higher and higher, in the presence of gazing multitudes, toward the summit. The first object that met the view on reaching the summit, was a large block of jasper — the identical sacrificial stone now preserved in the National Museum. At the other end of the area, which was paved with broad flat stones, were two towers or sanctuaries, consisting of three stories, the lower one of stone and stucco, the two upper of wood elaborately carved. In the lower division stood the images of their gods; the apartments above were filled with utensils for their religious services, and with the ashes of some of their Aztec princes, who had fancied this airy sepulchre. Before each sanctuary stood an altar, with that undying fire upon it, the extinction of which boded as much evil to the empire as that of the Vestal flame would have done in ancient Rome. Here, also, was the huge cylindrical drum made of serpents' skins, and struck only on extraordinary occasions, when it sent forth a melancholy sound that might be heard for miles, — a sound of woe in after-times to the Spaniards.

"From the summit of the *teocalli* a splendid view of the city could be had. Below lay the ancient metropolis spread out like a map, with its streets and canals intersecting each other at right angles, its terraced roofs blooming like so many parterres of flowers. Every place seemed alive with business and bustle; canoes glanced up and down the canals, the streets were crowded with people in their gay, picturesque costumes,

while from the market-place a confused hum of many sounds and voices rose upon the air. One could distinctly trace the symmetrical plan of the city, with its principal avenues issuing, as it were, from the four gates of the *coatepantli*, and connecting themselves with the causeways, which formed the grand entrances to the capital. This regular and beautiful arrangement was imitated in many of the inferior towns, where the great roads converged toward the chief *teocalli*, or cathedral, to a common focus.

"One could discern the insular position of the metropolis bathed on all sides by the salt floods of the *Tezcuco*, and in the distance the clear fresh waters of the *Chalco;* far beyond stretched a wide prospect of fields and waving woods, with the burnished walls of many a lofty temple rising high above the trees and crowning the distant hill-tops. The view reached in an unbroken line to the very base of the circular range of mountains, whose frosty peaks glittered as if touched with fire in the morning ray; while long, dark wreaths of vapor, rolling up from the hoary head of *Popocatepetl*, told that the destroying element was, indeed, at work in the bosom of the beautiful valley.

"The interiors of the sanctuaries were incrusted on the sides with stucco, on which various figures were sculptured, representing the Mexican calendar and the priestly ritual. At one end of the salon was a recess with a roof of timber richly carved and gilded. Before the altar stood the colossal image of *Huitzilopochtli*, the tutelary deity and war-god of the Aztecs. His countenance was distorted into hideous lineaments of symbolical import. In his right hand he wielded a bow, and in his left a bunch of golden arrows, which a mystic legend had connected with the victories of his people. The huge folds of a serpent, consisting of pearls and precious stones, were coiled round his waist, and the same rich materials were profusely sprinkled over his person. On his left foot were the delicate feathers of the humming-bird, which, singularly enough, gave its name to the dread deity. (Comp. p. 303.)

"One of the sanctuaries was dedicated to a milder deity. This was *Tezcatlipoca*, next in honor to that invisible Being, the Supreme God, who was represented by no image and confined by no temple. It was *Tezcatlipoca* who created the world and watched over it with a providential care. He was represented as a young man, and his image, of polished black stone, was richly garnished with gold plates and ornaments, among which a shield burnished like a mirror was the most characteristic emblem, as in it he saw reflected all the doings of the world."

b. **The Landing of the Spaniards and their March to the Capital.** The first landing of the Spaniards under *Cortés*,[1]

[1] The Great Conqueror was born at *Medellin*, Province of Estremadura, Spain, in 1485. His father, *Martin Cortés de Monroy*, was a captain

on Mexican soil, was at Tabasco on March 25, 1519. After a sharp brush with the natives, in which the invaders came out victorious, they sailed along the coast until they reached the spot where the castle of *San Juan de Ulua* now stands off the mainland of Vera Cruz. There they cast anchor on the evening of Thursday of Passion Week; the next morning, April 21, being Good Friday, *Cortés* landed, with all his force, on the

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of infantry. His mother was *Doña Catalina Pizarro Altamarino*. In 1504, when 19 years old, he left Spain for Cuba, where for many years he was a prominent figure in the life of the new Crown Colony. He sailed for Mexico Feb. 18, 1519, and perhaps no single man ever exerted a greater influence on the destiny of that country. He died in the village of *Castilleja de la Cuesta*, near Seville (Spain), Dec. 2, 1547, in the 63d year of his age. His body was transported to the chapel of the monastery of San Isidro, in Seville, where it was laid in the family vault of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. In 1562 it was removed, by order of his son, *Martin*, to New Spain, not, as directed by his will, to Coyoacan, but to the monastery of San Francisco, in Tezcuco, where it was laid by the side of a daughter, and of his mother. In 1629 the remains were again removed; and on the death of Don Pedro, fourth "Marquis of the Valley," it was decided by the authorities of Mexico to transfer them to the church of San Francisco, at the capital.

"A military and religious procession was formed with the Archbishop of Mexico at its head. He was accompanied by the great dignitaries of the church and state, and the members of the Audiencia. The coffin containing the relics of *Cortés* was covered with black velvet, and supported by the judges of the royal tribunals. On either side of it was a man in complete armor, bearing, on the right, a standard of pure white, with the arms of Castile embroidered in gold, and, on the left, a banner of black velvet, emblazoned in like manner with the armorial ensigns of the house of *Cortés*. Behind the corpse came the Viceroy and a numerous escort of Spanish cavaliers, and the rear was closed by a battalion of infantry, armed with pikes and arquebuses, and with their banners trailing on the ground.

"With this funeral pomp, by the sound of mournful music, and the slow beat of the muffled drum, the procession moved forward till it reached the capital. The gates were thrown open to receive the mortal remains of the hero who, a century before, had performed there such prodigies of valor."

Yet his bones were not permitted to rest here undisturbed; and in 1794 they were removed to the *Hospital de Jesus Nazareno* (p. 349). The mouldering relics of the warrior, now deposited in a crystal coffin secured by bars and plates of silver, were laid in the chapel, and over them was raised a simple monument, displaying the arms of the family, and surmounted by a bronze bust (by Tolsa) of the Conqueror.

In 1823, the patriot mob of the capital, in its zeal to commemorate the era of national independence, and its detestation of the "old Spaniards," proposed to break open the tomb which held the ashes of *Cortés* and to scatter them to the winds! The authorities declined to interfere on the occasion, but the friends of the family entered the vault by night, and secretly removed the relics. It is generally believed that they are now in the family vault of the *Duke of Terranova*, at Palermo, albeit some persons insist that they are still in Mexico, hidden in some place unknown to the people.

The sword of *Cortés* and the remains of the banner carried by him in the Conquest of Mexico are now in the *Museo de Artillería* at Madrid.

The student interested in the exploits of the Great Captain should consult Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*; Bancroft's *History of Mexico*; Gomara's *Historia de Mexico* (Gomara was the leading biographer of *Cortés*); Bernal Diaz's *Verdadera Historia de la Conquista*; and Oviedo's *Historia General de las Indias*.

spot where now stands the city of Vera Cruz. After a number of interviews with envoys from Montezuma and from other chiefs, *Cortés* determined to march to the Aztec stronghold — an undertaking which historians refer to as one of the "most daring and adventurous in history; demonstrating, in a high degree, the calibre of those stern and iron-willed conquerors."

Sending his fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, to coast along the shore to the north as far as Quiahuiztlán, *Cortés* visited in person the town of Cempoalla, made allies of the Totonacs there, then returned to Vera Cruz to complete arrangements previous to his departure for the capital. Recalling his ships, he brought on shore the cordage, sails, iron, etc., and ordered these to be sunk. Then this little handful of men, on a hostile shore and arrayed against a formidable empire, turned their faces toward the interior. To Mexico! was the cry. "The destruction of his fleet by *Cortés* is perhaps the most remarkable passage in the life of this remarkable man. It was an act of resolution that has few parallels in history."

When *Cortés* set out from the Totonac capital, his forces amounted to 400 foot and 15 horse, with 7 pieces of artillery. From the cacique of Cempoalla he obtained 1300 warriors, and a thousand *tamanes*, or porters, to drag the guns and transport the baggage. He took forty more of their principal men as hostages, as well as to guide him on his way and to serve by their counsels among the savage tribes he was to visit.

"It would be difficult to depict the impressions of the Spaniards as they stood, one beautiful morning, and gazed from the crest of the *Sierra de Ahualco* over the Valley of Mexico. Stretching far away at their feet were seen noble forests of oak, sycamore, and cedar, and beyond, yellow fields of maize and the towering maguey, intermingled with orchards and blooming gardens. In the centre of the great basin were beheld the lakes, their borders thickly studded with towns and hamlets, and in the midst — like some fair empress with her coronal of pearls — the fair city of Mexico, with her white towers and her pyramidal temples, reposing, as it were, on the bosom of the waters — the far-famed 'Venice of the Aztecs.'

"The 8th of Nov. was a conspicuous day in the history of Mexico. With the first faint streaks of dawn, the Spanish general was up, mustering his followers. They gathered, with beating hearts, under their respective banners, as the trumpet sent forth its spirit-stirring sounds across the water and woodland, till they died in distant echoes among the mountains. *Cortés* with his little body of horse formed a sort of advance guard to the army. Then came the Spanish infantry. The baggage occupied the centre; and the rear was closed by the dark files of Tlascalan (p. 429) warriors. The whole number was short of 7,000; of which less than 400 were Spaniards.

"For a short distance, the army kept along the narrow tongue of land which separates the *Texcucan* from the *Chalcan* waters, when it entered on the great dike (now the *Tlalpan* causeway), which, with the exception of an angle near the commencement, stretched in a perfectly straight line across the salt floods of *Texcuco* to the gates of the capital.

"The Spaniards had occasion more than ever to admire the mechanical science of the Aztecs, in the geometrical precision with which the work was executed, as well as the solidity of its construction. It was composed of huge stones well laid in cement, wide enough throughout its whole extent for ten horsemen to ride abreast.

"Everywhere the invaders beheld the evidence of a crowded and thriving population. The temples and principal buildings of the adjacent cities were covered with a hard white stucco, which glistened like enamel in the level beams of the morning sun. The margin of the great basin was thickly gemmed with towns and hamlets. The water was darkened by swarms of canoes filled with Indians, who clambered up the sides of the causeway and gazed with astonishment at the strangers. The white-skinned warriors in their glittering armor, the mail-clad horses which resembled gigantic demons to the timid Indians, the camp equipages and all the glittering paraphernalia of Spanish accoutrement, presented a terrific sight to the amazed Indians, and awed them into a wondering silence. At the distance of half a league from the capital, they encountered a solid work or curtain of stone, which traversed the dike. It was 12 ft. high, was strengthened by towers at the extremities, and in the centre was a battlemented gateway, which opened a passage to the troops. It was called the *Fort of Xoloc*, and became memorable in after-times as the position occupied by *Cortés* in the famous siege of Mexico.

"Here they were met by several hundred Aztec chiefs, who came out to announce the approach of Montezuma, and to welcome the Spaniards to the capital. They were dressed in the fanciful gala costume of the country, with the *maxtlatl*, or cotton sash, around their loins, and a broad mantle of the same material, or of the brilliant feather embroidery, flowing gracefully down from their shoulders. On their necks and arms they displayed collars and bracelets of turquois mosaic, with which delicate plumage was curiously mingled, while their ears, under lips, and occasionally their noses, were garnished with pendants formed of precious stones, or crescents of fine gold. Shortly the Spaniards beheld the glittering retinue of the emperor emerging from the great street which led then, as it still does, through the heart of the city. Amidst a crowd of Indian nobles, preceded by three officers of state bearing golden wands, they saw the royal palanquin blazing with burnished gold. It was borne on the shoulders of nobles, and

over it a canopy of gaudy feather-work, powdered with jewels and fringed with silver, was supported by four attendants of the same rank.

"Montezuma wore the girdle and ample square *tilmatli* of his nation. It was made of the finest cotton, with the embroidered ends gathered in a knot round his neck. His feet were defended by sandals having soles of gold, and the leathern thongs which bound them to his ankles were embossed with the same metal. Both the cloak and sandals were sprinkled with pearls and precious stones, among which the emerald and the *chalchihuitl* — a green stone [jadeite] of higher estimation than any other among the Aztecs — were conspicuous. On his head he wore no other ornament than a *panache* of plumes of the royal green, which floated down his back, the badge of military, rather than of regal, rank.[1]

"When the train had come within a convenient distance, it halted, and Montezuma, descending from his litter, came forward, leaning on the arms of the lords of *Tezcuco* and *Iztapalapan* — his nephew and brother. As the monarch advanced under the canopy, the obsequious attendants strewed the ground with cotton tapestry, that his imperial feet might not be contaminated by the rude soil.

"The Spanish army halted as he drew near. *Cortés*, dismounting, threw his rein to a page, and, supported by a few of his principal cavaliers, advanced to meet him. The interview must have been one of uncommon interest to both. Whatever may have been the monarch's feelings, he so far suppressed them as to receive this guest with princely courtesy, and to express his satisfaction at personally seeing him in his capital.

"*Cortés* responded by the most profound expressions of respect, while he made ample acknowledgments for the substantial proofs which the emperor had given the Spaniards of his munificence. He then hung round Montezuma's neck a sparkling chain of colored crystal. After the interchange of these civilities, Montezuma appointed his brother to conduct the Spaniards to their residence in the capital, and, again entering his litter, was borne off amidst prostrate crowds, in the same state in which he had come. The Spaniards quickly followed, and with flying colors and music, soon made their entrance into the southern quarter of *Tenochtitlán*.

"Here again they found fresh cause for admiration in the grandeur of the city and the superior style of its architecture. The great avenue through which they were now marching was

[1] "Montezuma was at this time about 40 years of age. His person was tall and thin, but not ill made. His hair, which was black and straight, was not very long. His beard was thin, his complexion paler than is often found in his dusky race. His features, though serious in expression, did not wear the look of melancholy which characterizes his portrait." (Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*.) (Compare p. clxxxii.)

lined with the houses of the nobles. They were built of a red, porous stone drawn from quarries in the neighborhood. The flat roofs (*azoteas*) were protected by stone parapets, so that every house was a fortress. Occasionally a great square or market-place intervened, surrounded by its porticoes of stone and stucco; or a pyramidal temple reared its colossal bulk.

"What impressed the Spaniards most were the throngs of people who swarmed through the streets and on the canals, filling every doorway and window, and clustering on the roofs of the buildings. Strange thoughts must have filled the Aztec minds as the inhabitants gazed on the portentous pageant; as they heard for the first time the well-cemented pavement ring under the iron tramp of the horses — the strange animals which fear had clothed in such supernatural terrors; as they gazed on the children of the East, revealing their celestial origin in their fair complexions; saw the bright falchions and bonnets of steel, a metal to them unknown, glancing like meteors in the sun, while sounds of unearthly music — at least, such as their rude instruments had never wakened — floated in the air! But every other emotion was lost in that of deadly hatred, when they beheld their detested enemy the Tlascalan stalking, in defiance, as it were, through their streets, and staring around with looks of ferocity and wonder, like some wild animal of the forest who had strayed by chance from his native fastnesses into the haunts of civilization.

"As they passed down the spacious streets, the troops repeatedly traversed bridges suspended above canals, along which they saw the Indian barks gliding swiftly with their little cargoes of fruits and vegetables for the markets of *Tenochtitlán*. At length they halted before a broad area near the centre of the city, where rose the huge pyramidal pile dedicated to the patron war-god of the Aztecs, second only, in size as well as sanctity, to the temple of Cholula, and covering the same ground now in part occupied by the great Cathedral of Mexico.

"Facing the western gate of the enclosure of the temple stood a low range of stone buildings, spreading over a wide extent of ground, the palace of *Axayacatl*, Montezuma's father, built by that monarch about fifty years before. It was appropriated as the barracks of the Spaniards. The emperor himself was in the court-yard waiting to receive him. Approaching *Cortés*, he took from a vase of flowers, borne by one of his slaves, a massy collar, in which the shell of a species of craw-fish, much prized by the Indians, was set in gold and connected by heavy links of the same metal. From this chain depended eight ornaments, also of gold, made in resemblance of the same shell-fish, a span in length each, and of delicate workmanship. Montezuma, as he hung the gorgeous collar round the general's neck, said, 'This palace belongs to you,

Malinche, and your brethren. Rest after your fatigues, for you have much need to do so, and in a little while I will visit you again.' So saying, he withdrew with his attendants, evincing in this act a delicate consideration not to have been expected in a barbarian.

"On a subsequent visit to *Cortés*, Montezuma made many inquiries concerning the country of the Spaniards, their sovereign, the nature of his government, and especially their own motives in visiting *Anáhuac*. *Cortés* explained these motives by the desire to see so distinguished a monarch and to declare to him the true Faith professed by the Christians."

c. **The Spaniards in Tenochtitlán.** "The Spaniards had not been long in the Aztec capital before the true object of their visit became apparent to the Mexicans. Their insatiable greed of gold and their religious intolerance were ever in evidence. *Cortés* and his priests lost no opportunity to preach salvation and the cross to their unwilling host; nor did they fail to treat the natives with that lofty contempt from which ecclesiastical missionaries of to-day are not always free. If Montezuma was steeped in the superstitions of his country, the iron-willed conqueror was no less bigoted. Neither cared to yield, and the apparent peace was illusory, and was maintained only by fear and force of arms. The unfailing hospitality of Montezuma, and his princely gifts, failed to awaken a feeling of gratitude in the breast of the Spaniard; they but whetted his appetite. The final seizure of the emperor as a hostage against any treacherous act on the part of the natives, and the confiscation of the imperial treasure, were measures which so incensed the Aztecs that it required all Montezuma's authority to restrain their impatience."

The middle of May, 1520, six months after the entrance of the Spaniards into Mexico, was the beginning of a long series of misfortunes for the invading army. For reasons of safety, *Cortés* deemed it advisable to quit *Tenochtitlán*, descend to the coast, and settle an account of long standing with *Pánfilo de Narvaez*, a political enemy who had just landed on Mexican soil with a squadron of 18 vessels, a large number of men, and military stores; the object of the expedition being to capture *Cortés*, supersede him, and return him to Spain to answer charges which would be submitted to him by the Spanish Court.

With his usual good fortune *Cortés* defeated *Narvaez*, won over his men, possessed himself of the equipment, and with the reinforcements started back to the capital. On leaving, he had placed the city under the charge of *Alvarado*, with a garrison of 140 men, all the artillery, the greater part of the little band of horse, and the arquebusiers. But when the victorious general and his recruits reached the highlands and began the descent into the Valley of Mexico, their reception by the natives was significant. "No one came forth to greet

them; supplies were granted with an ungracious air, and the general began to entertain uncomfortable apprehensions respecting the fate of the garrison in Mexico. But his doubts were soon dispelled by the arrival of a messenger in a canoe, from the city, whence he had escaped. He brought despatches from *Alvarado*, informing his commander that for the last fortnight the garrison had suffered greatly from the Mexican blockade, but he hoped tranquillity would be restored on the approach of his countrymen. Montezuma sent a messenger also, to the same effect. No effort was made by the Mexicans to bar the entry of the Spaniards, and with saddened feelings they reached the great gate of the palace of *Axayacatl*. The gates were thrown open, and *Cortés* and his veterans rushed in and were cordially embraced by their companions in arms.

"The first inquiries of the general were respecting the origin of the tumult. The accounts were various, but all agreed in tracing the immediate cause to the violence of *Alvarado*.

"It was common for the Aztecs to celebrate an annual festival in May in honor of their war-god. It was held in the court of the *teocalli* in the immediate neighborhood of the Spanish quarters. They assembled on the day appointed, to the number of six hundred. They were dressed in their most magnificent gala costumes, and at their special request, Montezuma was present. *Alvarado* and his soldiers attended as spectators. The Aztecs were soon engrossed in the exciting movements of the dance, accompanied by their religious chants and wild, discordant minstrelsy. While thus occupied, *Alvarado* and his men, at a concerted signal, rushed with drawn swords on their victims. Unprotected by armor or weapons of any kind, they were hewn down without resistance by their assailants, who showed no pity or compunction. Some fled to the gates, but were caught on the long pikes of the soldiers. Others who attempted to scale the Wall of Serpents, which surrounded the area, shared the like fate, or were cut to pieces by the ruthless soldiery. The pavement ran with streams of blood. Not an Aztec, of all that gay company, was left alive! Not content with slaughtering their victims, the Spaniards rifled them of the precious ornaments on their persons! On this sad day fell the flower of the Aztec nobility. Not a family of note but had mourning and desolation brought within its walls. Many a doleful ballad, rehearsing the incidents of the story, and adapted to the plaintive national airs, continued to be chanted by the natives long after the subjugation of the country.

"No sooner was the butchery accomplished than the tidings spread like wild-fire through the capital. Men could scarcely credit their senses. All they had hitherto suffered, the desecration of their temples, the imprisonment of their sovereign, the insults heaped on his person, all were forgotten in this one act. Every feeling of long-smothered hostility and rancor now burst forth in the cry for vengeance. The city rose in arms to a man; and on the following dawn, almost before the Spaniards could secure themselves in their defences, they were assaulted with desperate fury. Some of the assailants attempted to scale the walls; others succeeded in partially undermining and setting fire to the works. But at the prayers of the garrison, Montezuma himself interfered, and, mounting the battlements, addressed the populace, whose fury he endeavored to mitigate by urging considerations for his own safety. They respected their monarch so far as to desist from further attempts to storm the fortress, but they threw up works around the palace to prevent the egress of the Spaniards. They suspended the enemy's supplies, then they quietly sat down, with feelings of sullen desperation, waiting for the hour when famine should throw their victims into their hands.

"*Cortés* listened calmly to the explanation made by *Alvarado*. But, before it was ended, he was convinced that he had made a wrong selection for this important post. Yet the mistake was natural. *Alvarado* was a cavalier of high family, gallant, and his warm personal friend. He had talents for action, was possessed of firmness and intrepidity, while his frank and dazzling manner made the *Tonatiuh*, as he was called by the Mexicans, a special favorite with them. But underneath this showy exterior the future conqueror of Guatemala concealed a heart rash, rapacious, and cruel.

"When *Alvarado* had concluded his answers to the several interrogatories of *Cortés*, the brow of the latter darkened, as he said to his lieutenant, 'You have been false to your trust. Your conduct has been that of a madman!' And, turning abruptly on his heel, he left him in undisguised displeasure.

"On the day that *Cortés* arrived, Montezuma left his quarters to welcome him. But the Spanish commander received him coldly. Their relations were now those of prisoner and jailer. In order to quiet the revolt of the people, *Cortés* released Montezuma's brother, Cuitlahua, lord of Iztapalapan. He was a bold, ambitious prince, and the injuries he had received from the Spaniards rankled deep in his bosom. He was an experienced warrior, and instead of quieting the populace he immediately exerted himself to arrange a definite plan of operations against the intruders.

"The Spaniards were not kept in suspense. The Aztecs made a desperate assault on the Spanish barracks, bombarding them with a tempest of missiles — stones, darts, and arrows — which fell thick as rain on the besieged. The ferocity shown by the Mexicans seems to have been something for which *Cortés* was wholly unprepared. They fought furiously throughout the day, and the ancient walls of *Tenochtitlán* shook under the thunders of the artillery, the fierce battle-cries of the combatants, the hissing sound of Indian missiles, and the shrieks of the wounded and dying. Believing that the temporary ebullition of the populace would soon waste itself by its own fury, *Cortés* determined to sally out on the following day and inflict such a chastisement on his foes as should bring them to their senses and show who was master of the capital.

"With early dawn the Spaniards were up and under arms. As the gray light of morning advanced, it showed the besieging army, filling up the great square and neighboring avenues in more dense array than on the preceding evening. Before the sun had shot his beams into the Castilian quarters, the enemy were in motion. The Spanish commander determined to anticipate them by a vigorous sortie, for which he had already made the necessary dispositions.

"A general discharge of ordnance and musketry sent death far and wide in the enemy's ranks, and, before they had time to

recover from their confusion, the gates were thrown open, and *Cortés*, sallying out at the head of his cavalry, supported by a large body of infantry and several thousand Tlascalans, rode at full gallop against them. Taken thus by surprise, it was scarcely possible to offer much resistance. Those who did were trampled down under the horses' feet, cut to pieces with the broadswords, or pierced with the lances of the riders. The infantry followed up the blow, and the rout for the moment was general.

"Rallying on the other side of a barricade which had been thrown across the street, the Aztecs poured in turn a volley of their light weapons on the Spaniards, who, saluted with a storm of missiles at the same time from the terraces of the houses, were thrown into some disorder and checked in their career. The canals were alive with boats filled with warriors, who with their formidable darts searched every crevice or weak place in the armor proof, and made havoc on the unprotected bodies of the Tlascalans. By repeated and vigorous charges the Spaniards succeeded in driving the Indians before them, though many, with a desperation which showed they loved vengeance better than life, sought to embarrass the movements of their horses by clinging to their legs, or, more successfully, strove to pull the riders from their saddles. And woe to the unfortunate cavalier who was thus dismounted, — to be despatched by the brutal *maquahuitl*, or to be dragged on board a canoe to the bloody altar of sacrifice!

"But the greatest annoyance which the Spaniards endured was from the hail of missiles from the *azoteas*, consisting often of large stones, hurled with a force that would tumble the stoutest rider from the saddle. Galled in the extreme by these discharges, against which even their shields afforded no adequate protection, *Cortés* ordered fire to be set to the buildings. But the buildings stood separated from one another by canals and drawbridges, so that the flames did not easily communicate to the neighboring edifices. Hence the labor of the Spaniards was incalculably increased, and their progress in the work of destruction was comparatively slow.

"They did not relax their efforts, however, till several hundred houses had been consumed, and the miseries of a conflagration, in which the wretched inmates perished equally with the defenders, were added to the other horrors of the scene. But the Aztecs could better afford the loss of a hundred lives than their antagonists that of one. And, while the Spaniards showed an array broken and obviously thinned in numbers, the Mexican army, swelled by the tributary levies which flowed in upon it from the neighboring streets, exhibited, with all its loss, no sign of diminution. At length, sated with carnage, and exhausted by toil and hunger, the Spanish commander drew off his men and sounded a retreat."

STORMING OF THE GREAT TEOCALLI. "Opposite the Spanish quarters, at only a few rods distance, stood the great *teocalli* of *Huitzilopochtli*. This pyramidal mound, with the sanctuaries that crowned it, rising altogether to the height of near 150 ft., afforded an elevated position that completely commanded the palace of *Axayacatl*, occupied by the Christians. A body of five or six hundred Mexicans, many of them nobles and warriors of the highest rank, had got possession of the *teocalli*, whence they discharged such a tempest of arrows on the garrison that no one could leave his defences for a moment without imminent danger; while the Mexicans, under shelter of the sanctuaries, were entirely covered from the fire of the besieged. It was obviously necessary to dislodge the enemy, if the Spaniards would remain longer in their quarters. *Cortés*, who saw the immediate necessity of carrying the place, determined to lead a storming party himself. He was then suffering much from a wound in his left hand, which had disabled it for the present. He made the arm serviceable, however, by fastening his buckler to it, and, thus crippled, sallied out at the head of 300 chosen cavaliers and several thousand of his auxiliaries.

"In the court-yard of the temple he found a numerous body of Indians prepared to dispute his passage. He briskly charged them; but the flat smooth stones of the pavement were so slippery that the horses lost their footing and many of them fell. Hastily dismounting, they sent back the animals to their quarters, and, renewing the assault, the Spaniards succeeded without much difficulty in dispersing the Indian warriors and opening a free passage for themselves to the *teocalli*.

"*Cortés*, having cleared a way for the assault, sprang up the lower stairway, followed by *Alvarado*, *Sandoval*, *Ordaz*, and the other gallant cavaliers of his little band, leaving a file of arquebusiers and a strong corps of Indian allies to hold the enemy in check at the foot of the monument. On the first landing, as well as on the several galleries above, and on the summit, the Aztec warriors were drawn up to dispute his passage. From their elevated position they showered down volleys of lighter missiles, together with heavy stones, beams, and burning rafters, which, after thundering along the stairway, overturned the ascending Spaniards and carried desolation through their ranks. But the assailants pressed on, effectually supported by a brisk fire of the musketeers from below, which so much galled the Mexicans in their exposed situation that they were glad to take shelter on the broad summit of the *teocalli*.

"*Cortés* and his comrades were close upon their rear, and the two parties soon found themselves face to face on this aerial battlefield, engaged in mortal combat in presence of the whole city, as well as of the troops in the court-yard, who

paused, as if by mutual consent, gazing in silent expectation on the issue of hostilities above. The area, though somewhat smaller than the base of the *teocalli*, was large enough to afford a fair field of fight for a thousand combatants. It was paved with broad, flat stones. No impediment occurred over its surface, except the huge sacrificial block, and the temples of stone which rose to the height of forty feet, at the further extremity of the area. One of these had been consecrated to the Cross. The other was still occupied by the Mexican war-god. The Christian and the Aztec contended for their religion under the very shadow of their respective shrines: while the Indian priests, running to and fro, with their hair wildly streaming over their sable mantles, seemed hovering in mid-air, like so many demons of darkness urging on the work of slaughter.

"The parties closed with the desperate fury of men who had no hope but in victory. Quarter was neither asked nor given; and to fly was impossible. The edge of the area was unprotected by parapet or battlement. The least slip would be fatal, and the combatants, as they struggled in mortal agony, were sometimes seen to roll over the sheer sides of the precipice together. *Cortés* himself had a narrow escape from the dreadful fate. Two warriors seized on him and were dragging him violently toward the brink of the pyramid. Aware of their intention, he struggled with all his force, and, before they could accomplish their purpose, succeeded in tearing himself from their grasp and hurling one of them over the walls with his own arm!

"The battle lasted with unremitting fury for three hours. The number of the enemy was double that of the Christians, but the invulnerable armor of the Spaniard, his sword of matchless temper, and his skill in the use of it, gave him advantages which far outweighed the odds of physical strength and numbers. Resistance grew fainter and fainter on the side of the Aztecs. One after another they had fallen. Two or three priests only survived, to be led away in triumph by the victors. Every other combatant was stretched a corpse on the bloody arena, or had been hurled from the giddy heights. The Spaniards lost 45 of their best men: and nearly all the remainder were more or less injured.

"The victorious cavaliers now rushed toward the sanctuaries. Penetrating into their recesses they had the mortification to find the image of the Virgin and the Cross removed. But in the other they beheld the grim figure of *Huitzilopochtli*,[1] with his censer of smoking hearts, and the walls of his oratory reeking with gore, — not improbably of their own countrymen! With shouts of triumph the Christians tore the uncouth monster from his niche, and tumbled him, in the pre-

[1] This statue is now in the *Museo Nacional* at Mexico City.

sence of the horror-struck Aztecs, down the steps of the *teocalli*. They then set fire to the wooden tower of the accursed building. The flames speedily ran up the slender towers, sending forth an ominous light over city, lake, and valley, to the remotest hut among the mountains. It was the funeral pyre of paganism, and proclaimed the fall of that sanguinary religion which had so long hung like a dark cloud over the fair regions of Anáhuac.

"Having accomplished this good work, the Spaniards descended the winding slopes of the *teocalli* with more free and buoyant step, as if conscious that the blessing of Heaven now rested on their arms. They passed through the dusky files of Indian warriors in the court-yard, too much dismayed by the appalling scenes they had witnessed to offer resistance, and reached their own quarters in safety. That very night they followed up the blow by a sortie on the sleeping town, and burned 300 houses, the horrors of conflagration being made still more impressive by occurring at the hour when the Aztecs, from their own system of warfare, were least prepared for them.

"Hoping to find the temper of the natives somewhat subdued by these reverses, *Cortés* made them a vantage-ground for proposing peace terms. In a parley with the principal chiefs he pointed out that they had seen their gods trampled in the dust, their altars broken, their dwellings burned, their warriors falling on all sides. 'This,' he said, 'you have brought on yourselves by your rebellion. If you do not lay down your arms and return once more to your obedience, I will make your city a heap of ruins, and leave not a soul alive to mourn over it.'

"But the Spanish commander did not yet comprehend the character of the Aztecs, if he thought to intimidate them by menaces. It was true, they answered, he had destroyed their temples, broken in pieces their gods, massacred their countrymen. Many more doubtless were yet to fall under their terrible swords. But they were content so long as for every thousand Mexicans they could shed the blood of a single white man! 'Look out,' they continued, 'on our terraces and streets; see them still thronged with warriors as far as your eyes can reach. Our numbers are scarcely diminished by our losses. Yours, on the contrary, are lessening every hour. You are perishing from hunger and sickness. Your provisions and water are failing. You must soon fall into our hands. *The bridges are broken down, and you cannot escape!* There will be too few of you left to glut the vengeance of our gods!' As they concluded, they sent a whole volley of arrows over the battlements, which compelled the Spaniards to descend and take refuge in their defences.

"The fierce and indomitable spirit of the Aztecs filled the

besieged with dismay. The annunciation respecting the bridges fell like a knell on their ears. All that they had heard was too true; and they gazed on one another with looks of anxiety and dismay.

"A spirit of mutiny broke out, especially among the recent levies drawn from the army of *Narvaez*, and the men demanded, with noisy vehemence, to be led instantly from the city, and refused to serve longer in defence of a place where they were cooped up like sheep in the shambles, waiting only to be dragged to slaughter. In all this they were rebuked by the more orderly, soldier-like conduct of the veterans of *Cortés*. These latter had shared with their general the day of his prosperity, and they were not disposed to desert him in the tempest.

"*Cortés* calmly surveyed his condition, and weighed the difficulties which surrounded him, before coming to a decision. Independently of the hazard of a retreat in the face of a watchful and desperate foe, it was a deep mortification to surrender the city where he had so long lorded it as master, to abandon the rich treasures which he had secured to himself and his followers; to forego the very means by which he had hoped to propitiate the favor of his sovereign and secure an amnesty for his irregular proceedings.

"In this condition he had yet to learn the tidings of a fresh misfortune in the death of Montezuma. A short time before, the Indian monarch had received a javelin wound while addressing the infuriated people, and since receiving this wound he had declined rapidly. Perceiving his end approach, he summoned *Cortés* and recommended his three daughters to his care. He earnestly commended these children to his protection, as 'the most precious jewels that he could leave him.' He besought *Cortés* to care for them: to protect them from the wrath of the people who believed Montezuma a traitor to them. On the 30th of June, 1520, he expired in the arms of some of his own nobles, who still remained faithful to him. At the time of his death Montezuma was forty years old. He had reigned 18 years."

d. **The Retreat from Tenochtitlán.** "As there was no longer any question as to the expediency of evacuating the capital, the Spanish commander called a council of officers to deliberate on the matter. It was his purpose to retreat on Tlascala, and there to decide on his future operations. The general's first care was to provide for the safe transportation of the treasure. He delivered the share belonging to the Crown to the royal officers, assigning them one of the strongest horses, and a guard of soldiers to transport it. Much of the treasure was necessarily abandoned, from the want of adequate means of conveyance. The metal lay in shining heaps along the floor, exciting the cupidity of the soldiers. 'Take what

you will of it,' said *Cortés* to his men. 'Better you should have it than these Mexican hounds. But be careful not to overload yourselves. He travels safest in the dark night who travels lightest.' His own more wary followers took heed to his counsel, but the common soldiers rushed on the treacherous spoil, greedily loading themselves with as much as they could carry.

"*Cortés* next arranged the order of march. The van, composed of 200 Spanish foot, he placed under the command of the valiant *Gonzálo de Sandoval*, supported by *Diego de Ordas*, *Francisco de Lujo*, and about twenty other cavaliers. The rear-guard, constituting the strength of the infantry, was entrusted to *Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Velasques de Leon*. The general himself took charge of the 'battle' or centre, in which went the baggage, some of the heavy guns, the treasure, and the prisoners. These consisted of a son and two daughters of Montezuma, *Cacama*, the deposed lord of *Tezcuco*, and several other nobles, whom *Cortés* retained as important pledges in his future negotiations with the enemy. The Tlascalans were distributed equally among the three divisions; and *Cortés* had under his immediate command a hundred picked soldiers, his own veterans most attached to his service, who, with *Cristóbal de Olid*, *Francisco de Morla*, *Alonso de Avila*, and two or three other cavaliers, formed a select corps, to act wherever occasion might require.

"The general had already superintended the construction of a portable bridge to be laid over the open canals in the causeway. This was given in charge to an officer named *Margarino*, with forty soldiers under his orders, all pledged to defend the passage to the last extremity."

e. **La Noche Triste, or Sad Night.** "At midnight the troops were under arms, in readiness for the march. Mass was performed by *Father Olmedo*, who invoked the protection of the Almighty through the awful perils of the night. The gates were thrown open, and on the first of July, 1520, the Spaniards for the last time sallied forth from the walls of the ancient fortress, the scene of so much suffering and such indomitable courage.

"The night was cloudy, and a drizzling rain added to the obscurity. The great square before the palace was deserted. Steadily, as noiselessly as possible, the Spaniards held their way along the great street of *Tlacópan*, which so lately had resounded with the tumult of battle. All was now hushed in silence, and they were only reminded of the past by the occasional presence of some solitary corpse, or a dark heap of the slain, which too plainly told where the strife had been hottest. As they passed along the lanes and alleys, which opened into the great street, or looked down the canals, whose polished surface gleamed with a sort of ebon lustre through the obscurity of night, they fancied that they discerned the shadowy forms

of their foe lurking in ambush and ready to spring on them. But it was only fancy: the city slept undisturbed even by the prolonged echoes of the tramp of the horses and the hoarse rumbling of the artillery and baggage-trains.

"As the Spaniards drew near the spot where the street opened on the causeway, and were preparing to lay the portable bridge across the uncovered breach, several Indian sentinels who had been stationed here, took the alarm and fled, rousing their countrymen by their cries. The priests, keeping their night-watch on the summits of the *teocallis*, instantly caught the tidings and sounded their shells, while the huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones, heard only in seasons of calamity, which vibrated through every corner of the capital. The Spaniards saw that no time was to be lost. The bridge was brought forward and fitted with all possible expedition. *Sandoval* was the first to try its strength, and, riding across, was followed by his little body of chivalry, his infantry, and the Tlascalan allies who formed the first division of the army. Then came *Cortés* and his squadrons, with the baggage, ammunition-wagons, and a part of the artillery. But before they had time to defile across the narrow passage, a gathering sound was heard, like that of a mighty forest agitated by the winds. It grew louder and louder, while on the dark waters of the lake was heard a plashing noise, as of many oars. Then came a few stones and arrows striking at random among the hurrying troops. They fell every moment faster and more furious, till they thickened into a terrible tempest, while the very heavens were rent with the yells and war-cries of a myriad combatants, who seemed all at once to be swarming over land and lake.

"The Spaniards pushed steadily on through this arrowy sleet, though the barbarians, dashing their canoes against the sides of the causeway, clambered up and broke in upon their ranks. But the Christians, anxious only to make their escape, declined all combat except for self-preservation. The cavaliers, spurring forward their steeds, shook off their assailants and rode over their prostrate bodies, while the men on foot, with their good swords or the butt of their pieces, drove them headlong again down the sides of the dike.

"But the advance of several thousand men, marching on a front of not more than twenty abreast, necessarily required much time, and the leading files had already reached the second breach in the causeway before those in the rear had entirely traversed the first. Here they halted, and as they had no means of effecting a passage, smarting all the while under unintermitting volleys from the enemy, who were clustered thick on the waters around this second opening, sorely distressed, the vanguard sent repeated messages to the rear to demand the portable bridge. At length the last of the army had crossed,

and *Margarino* and his sturdy followers endeavored to raise the ponderous framework. But it stuck fast in the sides of the dike. In vain they strained every nerve. The weight of so many men and horses, and above all, the heavy artillery, had wedged the timbers so firmly in the stones and earth that it was beyond their power to dislodge them. Still they labored amidst a torrent of missiles, until, many of them slain, and all wounded, they were obliged to abandon the attempt.

"The tidings soon spread from man to man, and no sooner was their dreadful import comprehended than a cry of despair arose, which for a moment drowned all the noise of conflict. All means of retreat were cut off. Scarcely hope was left. The only hope was in such desperate exertions as each could make for himself. Intense danger produced intense selfishness. Each thought only of his own life. Pressing forward, he trampled down the weak and wounded, heedless whether it were friend or foe. The leading files, urged on by the rear, were crowded on the brink of the gulf. *Sandoval*, *Ordaz*, and the other cavaliers dashed into the water. Some succeeded in swimming their horses across. Others failed, and some, who reached the opposite bank, being overturned in the ascent, rolled headlong with their steeds into the lake. The infantry followed pell-mell, heaped promiscuously on one another, frequently pierced by the shafts or struck down by the war-clubs of the Aztecs: while many an unfortunate victim was dragged half-stunned on board their canoes, to be reserved for a protracted but more dreadful death.

"The carnage raged fearfully along the length of the causeway. Its shadowy bulk presented a mass of sufficient distinctness for the enemy's missiles, which often prostrated their own countrymen in the blind fury of the tempest. Those nearest the dike, running their canoes alongside, with a force that shattered them to pieces, leaped on the land, and grappled with the Christians, until both came rolling down the causeway together. But the Aztec fell among his friends, while his antagonist was borne away in triumph to the sacrifice. The struggle was long and deadly. The Mexicans were recognized by their white cotton tunics, which showed faint through the darkness. Above the combatants rose a wild and discordant clamor, in which horrid shouts of vengeance were mingled with groans of agony, with invocations of the saints and the Blessed Virgin, and with screams of women; for there were several women, both natives and Spaniards, who had accompanied the Christian camp. Among these, one named *María de Estrada* is particularly noticed for the courage she displayed, battling with broadsword and target like the stanchest of the warriors.

"The opening in the causeway, meanwhile, was filled up with the wreck of matter which had been forced into it, am-

munition-wagons, heavy guns, bales of rich stuff scattered over the waters, chests of solid ingots,[1] and bodies of men and horses, till over this dismal ruin a passage was gradually formed, by which those in the rear were enabled to clamber to the other side. *Cortés* found a place that was fordable, and halting, with the water up to his saddle-girths, he endeavored to check the confusion, and lead his followers by a safer path to the opposite bank. But his voice was lost in the wild uproar, and finally, hurrying on with the tide, he pressed forward with a few trusty cavaliers, but not before he had seen his favorite page, *Juan de Salazar*, struck down, a corpse, by his side. Here he found *Sandoval* and his companions, halting before the third and last breach, endeavoring to cheer on their followers to surmount it. But their resolution faltered. It was wide and deep, though not so closely beset by the enemy as the preceding ones. The cavaliers again set the example by plunging into the water. Horse and foot followed as they could, some swimming, others with dying grasp clinging to the manes and tails of the struggling animals. Those fared best, as the general had predicted, who travelled lightest; and many were the unfortunate wretches who, weighed down by the fatal gold which they loved so well, were buried with it in the salt floods of the lake. *Cortés*, with his gallant comrades, *Olid*, *Morla*, *Sandoval*, and some few others, still kept in the advance, leading his broken remnant off the fatal causeway. The din of battle lessened in the distance; when the rumor reached them that the rear-guard would be wholly overwhelmed without speedy relief. It seemed almost an act of desperation: but the generous hearts of the Spanish cavaliers did not stop to calculate danger when the cry for succor reached them. Turning their horses, they galloped back to the theatre of action, worked their way through the press, swam the canal, and placed themselves in the thick of the mêlée on the opposite bank.

"The first gray of the morning was now coming over the waters. It showed the hideous confusion of the scene which had been shrouded in the obscurity of night. The dark masses of combatants, stretching along the dike, were seen struggling for mastery, until the very causeway on which they stood appeared to tremble, as if shaken by an earthquake; while the bosom of the lake, as far as the eye could reach, was darkened by canoes crowded with warriors, whose spears and bludgeons, armed with blades of volcanic glass, gleamed in the morning light.

"The cavaliers found *Alvarado* unhorsed, and defending himself with a poor handful of followers against an overwhelming tide of the enemy. His good steed, which had

[1] One witness estimates that over 2,000,000 *pesos* were lost during that night.

borne him through many a hard fight, had fallen under him. He was himself wounded in several places, and was striving in vain to rally his scattered column, which was driven to the verge of the canal by the fury of the enemy, then in possession of the whole rear of the causeway. The artillery in the earlier part of the engagement had not been idle, and its iron shower, sweeping along the dike, had mowed down the assailants by hundreds. But nothing could resist their impetuosity. The front ranks, pushed on by those behind, were at length forced up to the pieces, and, pouring over them like a torrent, overthrew men and guns in one general ruin. The resolute charge of the Spanish cavaliers, who had now arrived, created a temporary check, and gave time for their countrymen to make a feeble rally. But they were speedily borne down by the returning flood. *Cortés* and his companions were compelled to plunge again into the lake, though all did not escape. *Alvarado* stood on the brink for a moment, hesitating what to do. Unhorsed as he was, to throw himself into the water, in the face of the hostile canoes that swarmed around the opening, afforded but a desperate chance of safety. He was a man of powerful frame, and despair gave him unnatural energy. Setting his long lance firmly on the wreck which strewed the bottom of the lake, he sprung forward with all his might, and cleared the wide gap at a leap! Aztecs and Tlascalans gazed in stupid amazement, exclaiming, as they beheld the incredible feat, 'This is truly the *Tonatiuh*, the child of the Sun!' The breadth of the opening is not given. But it was so great that the valorous captain, *Diaz*, who well remembered the place, says the leap was impossible to any man. To this day the spot is familiarly known to every inhabitant of the capital; and the name of the *Calle del Puente de Alvarado* [p. 339] — street of the Bridge of *Alvarado* — still commemorates the exploit.

"*Cortés* and his followers now rode forward to the front, where the troops were marching off the fatal causeway. The attention of the Aztecs was diverted to the rich spoil that strewed the battle-ground, and, but little molested, the jaded Spaniards were allowed to defile through the adjacent suburb of Popotla.

"The Great Captain there dismounted from his tired steed, and sitting beneath a giant tree [comp. p. 418] gazed mournfully on the broken files as they passed before him. The cavalry, most of them dismounted, were mingled with the infantry, who dragged their feeble limbs along with difficulty; their shattered mail and tattered garments dripping with the salt ooze, showing through their rents many a bruise and ghastly wound, their bright arms soiled, their proud crests and banners gone, the baggage, artillery, and all that constitutes the pride and panoply of glorious war, forever lost. *Cortés*, as he looked

wistfully on their thin and disordered ranks, sought in vain for many a familiar face, and missed more than one dear companion who had stood side by side with him through all the perils of the *Conquest*. Though accustomed to control his emotions, the sight was too much for him. He covered his face with his hands, and the tears which trickled down revealed too plainly the anguish of his soul.

"He found some consolation, however, in the sight of several of the cavaliers on whom he most relied. *Alvarado*, *Sandoval*, *Olid*, *Ordaz*, *Avila*, were yet safe. He had the inexpressible satisfaction, also, of learning the safety of *Marina*, the Indian interpreter. *Aguilar*, the other interpreter, had also escaped. And it was with no less satisfaction that *Cortés* learned the safety of the ship-builder, *Martin Lopez*. The general's solicitude for the fate of this man, so indispensable to the success of his subsequent operations, showed that, amidst all his affliction, his indomitable spirit was looking forward to the hour of revenge.

"The loss sustained by the Spaniards on this fatal night, according to *Cortés's* own letter, did not exceed one hundred and fifty Spaniards and two thousand Indians. But *Thoan Cano*, one of the cavaliers present, estimated the slain at 1,170 Spaniards and 8,000 allies. Forty-six of the cavalry were cut off. The greater part of the treasure, the baggage, the general's papers, including a minute diary of transactions since leaving Cuba, were swallowed up by the waters. The ammunition, the beautiful little train of artillery with which *Cortés* had entered the city, were all gone. Not a musket remained, the men having thrown them away, lest they retard their escape on that disastrous night. Such were the results of this terrible passage of the causeway; more disastrous than those occasioned by any other reverse which had stained the Spanish arms in the New World; and which have branded the night on which it happened, in the national annals, with the name of *la noche triste*, 'the melancholy night.'"

f. **Siege and Downfall of Tenochtitlán.** "In the spring of 1521 we find the Great Captain once more in the Valley of Mexico, blockading and besieging the ancient Aztec city. Provided with fresh arms and military stores; with fresh recruits and an inexhaustible supply of new energy; strongly supported by thousands of Indian allies thirsting for the complete annihilation of the Aztec stronghold, the Spanish commander set about the downfall of the doomed city with a singleness of purpose that brooked no defeat. Building a number of brigantines, he launched them on the lake and defeated, in a bloody encounter, the Indian flotilla that came to meet them. Day after day the intrepid Aztecs sallied out to meet the Spaniards, and as frequently were they forced back. For weeks and months the invaders lived a life of incessant toil

almost too severe for even their stubborn constitutions. Many of their desperate assaults were repulsed by the besieged, whose proud spirit seemed not to weaken, albeit famine was now gradually working its way into the heart of the beleaguered city. On one occasion the Spaniards made a general assault on the city, but they were defeated with such loss that for a time their position was critical.

"A day was fixed for the final assault, which was to be made simultaneously by the two divisions under *Alvarado* and the commander-in-chief. *Sandoval* was instructed to draw off the greater part of his besieging forces from the northern causeway and to unite himself with *Alvarado*, while seventy picked soldiers were to be detached to the support of *Cortés*. On the appointed morning the two armies advanced along their respective causeways against the city. They were supported, in addition to the brigantines, by a numerous fleet of Indian boats, and by a countless multitude of allies, whose very numbers served in the end to embarrass their operations. *Cortés* divided his forces into three bodies. One of them he placed under *Alderete*, with orders to occupy the principal street. A second he gave in charge to *Andrés de Tapia* and *Jorge de Alvarado;* the former a cavalier of courage and capacity, the latter a younger brother of *Don Pedro*, and possessed of the intrepid spirit which belonged to that chivalrous family. These were to penetrate by one of the parallel streets, while the general himself, at the head of the third division, was to occupy the other. A small body of cavalry, with two or three field-pieces, was stationed as a reserve in front of the great street of Tacuba, which was designated as the rallying-point for the different divisions.

"*Cortés* gave the most positive instructions to the captains not to advance a step without securing the means of retreat by carefully filling up the ditches and the openings of the causeways. The neglect of this precaution by *Alvarado*, in an assault which he had made on the city but a few days before, had been attended with such serious consequences to the army that *Cortés* rode over to his officer's quarters for the purpose of publicly reprimanding him for his disobedience of orders. On his arrival at the camp, however, he found that his offending captain had conducted the affair with such gallantry that the intended reprimand subsided into a mild rebuke.

"The arrangements being completed, the three divisions marched at once up the several streets. *Cortés*, dismounting, took the van of his own squadron, at the head of his infantry. The Mexicans fell back as he advanced, making less resistance than usual. The Spaniards pushed on, carrying one barricade after another, and carefully filling up the gaps with rubbish, so as to secure themselves a footing. The canoes supported the attack, by moving along the canals, and grappling with

those of the enemy; while numbers of the nimble-footed Tlascalans, scaling the terraces, passed from one house to another, hurling the defenders into the streets below. The enemy, taken apparently by surprise, seemed incapable of withstanding the fury of the assault. The facility of his success led *Cortés* to suspect that he was advancing too fast. Determined to trust no eyes but his own, he proceeded to reconnoitre the route followed by his victorious troops.

"His conjecture proved too true. *Alderete* had followed the retreating Aztecs with an eagerness which increased with every step of his advance. He had carried the barricades which had defended the breach, and, as he swept on, gave orders that the opening should be stopped. But the blood of the high-spirited cavaliers was warmed by the chase, and no one cared to be detained by the ignoble occupation of filling up the ditches. In this way they suffered themselves to be decoyed into the heart of the city. Suddenly the horn of *Guatemoczin* — the sacred symbol, heard only in seasons of extraordinary peril — sent forth a long and piercing note from the summit of a neighboring *teocalli*. In an instant, the flying Aztecs, as if maddened by the blast, wheeled about and turned on their pursuers. At the same time, countless swarms of warriors from the adjoining streets and lanes poured in upon the flanks of the assailants, filling the air with the fierce, unearthly cries which had reached the ears of *Cortés*, and drowning, for a moment, the wild dissonance which reigned in the other quarters of the capital.

"The army, taken by surprise, and shaken by the fury of the assault, was thrown into the utmost disorder. Friends and foes, white men and Indians, were mingled together in one promiscuous mass. Spears, swords, and war-clubs were brandished together in the air. Blows fell at random. In their eagerness to escape they trod down one another. Blinded by the missiles which now rained on them from the *azoteas*, they staggered on, scarcely knowing in what direction, or fell, struck down by hands which they could not see. On they came, like a rushing torrent sweeping along some steep declivity, and rolling in one confused tide toward the open breach, on the farther side of which stood *Cortés* and his companions, horror-struck at the sight of the approaching ruin. The foremost files soon plunged into the gulf, treading one another under the flood, some striving ineffectually to swim, others, with more success, to clamber over the heaps of their suffocated comrades. Many, as they attempted to scale the opposite sides of the slippery dike, fell into the water, or were hurried off by the warriors in canoes, who added to the horror of the rout by the fresh storm of darts and javelins which they poured on the fugitives.

"*Cortés*, with his brave followers, kept his station undaunted

on the other side of the breach. With outstretched hands he endeavored to rescue as many as he could from the watery grave, and from the more appalling fate of captivity. He as vainly tried to restore something like presence of mind and order among the distracted fugitives. His person was well known to the Aztecs, and his position now made him a conspicuous mark for their weapons. Stones, darts, and arrows fell around him as thick as hail, but glanced harmless from his steel helmet and armor. At length a cry of '*Malinche, Malinche,*' arose among the enemy; and six of their number, strong and athletic warriors, rushing on him at once, made a violent effort to drag him on board their boat. In the struggle he received a severe wound in the leg, which, for the time, disabled it. There seemed to be no hope for him: when a faithful follower, *Cristóbal de Olea*, perceiving his general's extremity, threw himself on the Aztecs, and with a blow cut off the arm of one savage, and then plunged his sword in the body of another. He was quickly supported by a comrade named *Lerma*, and by a Tlascalan chief, who, fighting over the body of the prostrate *Cortés*, despatched three more of the assailants, though the heroic *Olea* paid dearly for his self-devotion, as he fell mortally wounded by the side of his general.

"With the aid of his cavaliers *Cortés* at length succeeded in regaining the firm ground and reaching the open place before the great street of Tacuba. Here, under a sharp fire of the artillery, he rallied his broken squadrons and beat off the enemy.

"That night the jaded Spaniards from their camp saw a long file of priests and warriors climbing to the flat summit of the *teocalli*. Among them were several men stripped to the waist, some of whom, by the whiteness of their skins, they recognized as their own countrymen. Their heads were gaudily decorated with coronals of plumes, and they carried fans in their hands. They were urged along by blows, and compelled to take part in the dances in honor of the Aztec war-god. The unfortunate captives, soon stripped of their sad finery, were stretched, one after another, on the great stone of sacrifice.

"We may imagine with what sensations the stupefied Spaniards must have gazed on this horrid spectacle, so near that they could almost recognize the persons of their unfortunate friends, see the struggles and writhings of their bodies, hear their screams of agony! Their limbs trembled beneath them as they thought what might one day be their own fate: and the bravest among them, who had hitherto gone to battle as careless and light-hearted as to the banquet-room, were unable, from this time forward, to encounter their ferocious enemy without a sickening feeling, much akin to fear, coming over them.

"But amidst all the distress and multiplied embarrassments of their situation, the Spaniards still remained true to their purpose. They relaxed in no degree the severity of the blockade. Their camps still occupied the only avenues to the city, and their batteries, sweeping down the long defiles at every fresh assault of the Aztecs, mowed down hundreds of the assailants.

"Soon there was no occasion to resort to artificial means to precipitate the ruin of the Aztecs. It was accelerated every hour by causes more potent than those arising from human agency. Pent up in their suffocating quarters, nobles, commoners, and slaves, men, women, and children, faced inevitable starvation. They wandered about in search of anything that might mitigate the fierce gnawings of hunger. Some hunted for insects and worms on the borders of the lake, or gathered the salt weeds and moss from its bottom, while at times they might be seen casting a wistful look at the green hills beyond, which many of them had left to share the fate of their brethren in the capital. Hundreds of famished wretches died every day from extremity of suffering.

"*Cortés* offered the dying Aztecs a chance to capitulate, but they refused. As long as they were able to stand they made murderous assaults on the Spanish camps, to be ruthlessly beaten back or slaughtered by the invaders.

"It was the memorable 13th of August, 1521, the day of *St. Hippolytus*, — from this circumstance selected as the patron saint of modern Mexico, — that *Cortés* led his warlike array for the last time across the black and blasted environs which lay around the Indian capital. On entering the Aztec precincts, he paused, willing to afford its wretched inmates one more chance to escape before striking the fatal blow. He obtained an interview with some of the principal chiefs, and expostulated with them on the conduct of their prince. 'He surely will not,' said the general, 'see you all perish, when he can so easily save you.' He then urged them to prevail on *Guatemozin* to hold a conference with him, repeating the assurance of his personal safety.

"The messengers went on their mission, and soon returned with the *cihuacóatl* at their head, a magistrate of high authority among the Mexicans. He said, with a melancholy air, that '*Guatemozin* was ready to die where he was, but would hold no interview with the Spanish commander': adding, in a tone of resignation, 'it is for you to work your pleasure.' 'Go, then,' replied the stern conqueror, 'and prepare your countrymen for death. Their hour is come.'

"He still postponed the assault for several hours. But the impatience of his troops at this delay was heightened by the rumor that *Guatemozin* and his nobles were preparing to escape with their effects in *piraguas* and canoes which were

moored on the margin of the lake. Convinced of the impolicy of further procrastination, *Cortés* made his final disposition for the attack, and took his own station on an *azotea* which commanded the theatre of operations.

"When the assailants came into the presence of the enemy, they found them huddled together in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the causeways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness to their appearance which still further heightened the ferocity of their expression, as they glared on their enemy with eyes in which hate was mingled with despair. When the Spaniards had approached within bowshot, the Aztecs let off a flight of impotent missiles, showing to the last the resolute spirit of their better days. The fatal signal was then given by the discharge of an arquebuse, — speedily followed by peals of heavy ordnance, the rattle of firearms, and the hellish shouts of the confederates as they sprang upon their victims. It is unnecessary to stain the page with a repetition of the horrors of the preceding day. Some of the wretched Aztecs threw themselves into the water and were picked up by canoes. Others sank and were suffocated in the canals. The number of these became so great that a bridge was made of their dead bodies, over which the assailants could climb to the opposite banks. Others again, especially the women, begged for mercy, which, as the chroniclers assure us, was everywhere granted by the Spaniards, and, contrary to the instructions of *Cortés*, everywhere refused by the confederates.

"While this work of butchery was going on, numbers were observed pushing off in the barks that lined the shore, and making the best of their way across the lake. They were constantly intercepted by the brigantines, which broke through the flimsy array of boats, sending off their volleys right and left, as the crews of the latter hotly assailed them. The battle raged as fiercely on the lake as on land.

"*Sandoval* had particularly charged his captains to keep an eye on the movements of any vessel in which it was at all probable that *Guatemozin* might be concealed. At this crisis three or four of the largest *piraguas* were seen skimming over the water and making their way rapidly to the shore. A captain named *Garcia Holguin* came alongside one of the *piraguas*, and ordered his men to level their cross-bows at the boat. But before they could discharge them a cry arose from those in it that their lord was on board. At the same moment a young warrior, armed with buckler and *maquahuitl*, rose up, as if to beat off the assailants. But as the Spanish captain ordered his men not to shoot, he dropped his weapons, and exclaimed,

'I am *Guatemozin*. Lead me to *Malinche:* I am his prisoner: but let no harm come to my wife and my followers.'

"The news of *Guatemozin's* capture spread rapidly through the fleet, and on shore. When the warriors heard it they ceased fighting. It seemed as if the fight had been maintained thus long to divert the enemy's attention and cover their master's retreat.

"On the day following the surrender, *Guatemozin* requested the Spanish commander to allow the Mexicans to leave the city and to pass unmolested into the open country. To this *Cortés* readily assented. The whole number who departed from the stricken place is estimated at from thirty to seventy thousand, besides women and children who had survived the sword, pestilence, and famine. Of the whole number who perished in the course of the siege it is impossible to form any accurate computation. The accounts range widely, from 120,000, the lowest estimate, to 240,000. The number of Spaniards who fell was comparatively small. The historian of *Tezcuco* asserts that 30,000 of his own countrymen perished.

"The booty found by the Spaniards fell far below their expectations. It did not exceed, according to the general's statement, a hundred and thirty thousand *castellanos* of gold, including the sovereign's share, which, indeed, taking into account many articles of curious and costly workmanship, voluntarily relinquished by the army, greatly exceeded his legitimate fifth. It is believed that the Aztecs sunk vast treasures in the waters of the lake.

"Thus, after a siege of nearly three months' duration, unmatched in history for the constancy and courage of the besieged, seldom surpassed for the severity of its sufferings, fell the renowned capital of the Aztecs." (Prescott's *Conquest.*)

g. **The Vice-Regal Period.** Mexico was under the iron rule of Spain from 1521 to 1821, and during those three centuries it was ruled by five (*Hernan Cortés* first) Governors (1521–28), two *Audiencias* (1528–35), and sixty-two Viceroys (1535–1821), the last of whom was *Francisco Novella*. Personal ambition and religious zeal stimulated *Cortés* to the Conquest, and covetousness and the love of power were the salient characteristics of many of the peruked and bespangled rulers who followed him. These viceroys (*virreyes*) were for the most part Spanish nobles, prelates, or court politicians, who sought the position for selfish purposes and with the idea of repairing their dilapidated fortunes in the New World. They ruled over one of the most extensive empires of the world — a colony which extended over 20 degrees of latitude, which embraced every known climate, and which contained millions of human beings. They were responsible only to the King of Spain and the powerful *Consejo de las Indias* (thousands of miles away), and during their incumbency of office, the conquered territory

was exploited for the Viceroys, the Church, and the Spanish Crown. The vice-regal salary was forty thousand *pesos* a year (raised in 1689 to $70,000), and despite enormous expenditures, some of these petty kings were enabled to return to Spain after a lapse of a few years with vast fortunes wrung from the coerced and enslaved natives. Foreigners were excluded from the country, education was monopolized by the clergy, and the best land, the most profitable commerce, and the most influential government offices were held by the native Spaniards. But among the men of this long vice-regal succession were some whose ambition was to uplift the oppressed Indians and to govern their country for them, wisely and well. Their names are conspicuous in Mexican history and their memory is revered by the people.

Antonio de Mendoza (*Conde de Tendilla y Comendador de Socuellanos*), the 1st Viceroy (1535–50), was distinguished for his humane efforts to mitigate the hardships of the enslaved Indians. He sent expeditions northward on voyages of discovery; founded the cities of Valladolid (now Morelia) and Guadalajara; issued the first money minted in Mexico; aided *Fray Pedro de Gante* to establish schools, — particularly the celebrated school of *Santiago Tlaltelolco*, — and caused the first printing-press to be brought from Spain. The noble missionary *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas* reached Mexico during his reign and received his ardent support. The mines of Guanajuato and Zacatecas were exploited. The admirable precedent of this benevolent man strongly influenced

Luis de Velasco, 2d V. (1550–64). The example of *Las Casas* ("Defender of the Indians") for good was so great that *Velasco* emancipated 150,000 Indians enslaved by Spanish landowners. He founded (1553) the first University in New Spain, and the Hospital Real; distributed Crown Lands among the Indians; and by means of expeditions northward, he essayed to pacify and civilize the nomad tribes of those regions. One of his captains discovered the still enormously productive silver-mines of Fresnillo and Sombrerete. Silao, Durango, and San Miguel de Allende were founded during his reign, and the great Dike of San Lazaro was built. He died in Mex. City July 31, 1564, and he is revered as the great "emancipator."

Gaston de Peralta, 3d V. (1566–68), was succeeded by

Martin Enriquez de Almanza (Knight of Santiago), 4th V. (1568–80). He was known as the "Inquisitor," because the Inquisition was established in Mexico during his reign. During his incumbency of office the Jesuits reached Mexico (1572); the corner-stone of the Mex. City Cathedral was laid (1573), and the city of Leon was founded (1576). During the time of

Lorenzo Juarez de Mendoza, 5th V. (1580–84), the fabulously rich mines of San Luis Potosí were discovered.

Pedro Moya de Contreras (Archbishop of Mexico), the 6th V. (1584), was succeeded (in 1585) by

Alvaro Manriquez de Zúñiga (*Marqués de Villa Manrique*), 7th V. (1585–90), who extended the commerce between Mexico and the Far East.

Luis de Velasco (*Marqués de Salinas*), a son of the "Emancipator," was the 8th V. (1590–95). He framed just laws for the protection of the Indians, and was a wise and benevolent ruler.

Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo (Count of Monterey), the 9th V. (1595–1603), extended the Spanish dominions into California, founded there the town of Monterey, another of the same name in the Mexican state of Nuevo Leon, and Santa Fé in New Mexico. He also conveyed to Spain the astounding information that since the coming of the Spaniards to Mexico, the native population had fallen off three fourths!

Juan Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza y Luna (*Marqués de Montesclaros*), 10th V. (1603–07), was succeeded by

Luis de Velasco, who returned from Peru and became Viceroy (11th), for the second time (1607–11). The great Cut of Huehuetoca (p. 135), aimed to drain the Valley of Mexico, was begun by his order.

Archbishop Garcia Guerra, 12th V. (1611–12).

Diego Fernandez de Córdova (*Marqués de Guadalcazar*), 13th V. (1612–21).

Diego Carrillo de Mendoza y Pimentel (*Conde de Priego y Marqués de Gelves*), 14th V. (1621–24).

Rodrigo Pacheco Osorio (*Marqués de Cerralvo*), 15th V. (1624–35).

Lope Diaz de Armendariz, 16th V. (1635–40).

Diego Lopez Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla (*Duque de Escalona y Marqués de Villena*), 17th V. (1640–42).

Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (Bishop of Puebla), 18th V. (for about 5 months).

Garcia Sarmiento de Sotomayor (Count of Salvatierra), 19th V. (1642–48).

Marcos Lopez de Torres y Rueda (Bishop of Yucatan), 20th V. (1648–50), was a zealous bigot, who caused 15 persons to be strangled and burned by the Inquisition.

Luis Enriquez de Guzman (Count of *Alba Liste*), 21st V. (1650–53).

Francisco Fernandez de la Cueva (*Duque de Albuquerque*), 22d V. (1653–60).

Juan de Leiva y de la Cerda (*Marqués de Leiva y de Ladrada*), 23d V. (1660–64).

Diego Osorio de Escobar y Llamas (Bishop of Puebla), 24th V. (for a few months in 1664) was succeeded by

Antonio Sebastian de Toledo, Molina y Salazar, 25th V. (1664–73).

Pedro Nuño Colon de Portugal y Castro (*Duque de Veraguas*), 26th V. (for six days in 1673).

Fray Payo Enriquez de Rivera (Archbishop of Mexico), 27th V. (1673–80), was a wise and progressive ruler, untainted by the bigotry which at that time was a clerical trait.

Tomás Antonio Manrique de la Cerda, 28th V. (1680–86).

Melchor Portocarrero Laso de la Vega (Count of Monclova), 29th V. (1686–88), founded Monclova (State of Coahuila), and built, at his own expense, the great aqueduct which formerly brought water from Chapultepec to Mexico City.

Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza (*Conde de Galve*), 30th V. (1688–96), accomplished the Conquest of Texas (1691); founded (1692) the city of Pensacola (Florida); sent many colonists to New Mexico, and proved an energetic, far-sighted, and just ruler. During his reign the first American newspaper, *El Mercurio Volante*, was established.

Juan de Ortega Montañez (Bishop of Michoacan), 31st V. (1696), was replaced by

José Sarmiento Valladares (*Conde de Moctezuma*), 32d V. (1696–1701), who wedded *María Andrea Moctezuma*, third Countess and fourth in descent from *Moctezuma II*, through his son,[1] *Pedro Johualicahuatzin Moctezuma*.

Juan de Ortega Montañez became Viceroy (33d) a second time in 1701.

Fernandez de la Cueva Enriquez (*Duque de Albuquerque*), 34th V. (1701–11), colonised New Mexico and founded the present town of Albuquerque (U. S. A.).

Fernando de Alencastro Marona y Silva (*Marqués de Valdafuentes*), 35th V. (1711–16).

Baltazar de Zúñiga Guzman Sotomayor y Mendoza, 36th V. (1716–22).

Juan de Acuña (*Marqués de Casafuerte*), 37th V. (1722–34), conducted the affairs of the Province in a liberal and enlightened way. He was a Peruvian, and the only American-born Viceroy.

Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta (Archbishop of Mexico), 38th V. (1734–40).

Pedro de Castro Figueroa y Salazar, 39th V. (1740–42).

Pedro Cebrian y Agustin (*Conde de Fuenclara*), 40th V. (1742–46), made the first effort to collect and tabulate practical statistical information concerning Mexico.

Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, 41st V. (1746–55).

Agustin de Ahumada y Villalon, 42d V. (1755–60).

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[1] The Spaniards impressed their wishes and their personality so strongly on the Indians that many of these subjects—some through inclination; others through fear—discarded their own names for Spanish titles. In certain cases proper names were retained and Castilian Christian names were added.

Francisco Cajigal de la Vega (ex-Governor of Cuba), 43d V. for a brief period.

Joaquin de Monserrat (*Marqués de Cruillas*), 44th V. (1760–66), organized for the first time a regular army in Mexico.

Carlos Francisco de Croix (*Marqués de Croix*), 45th V. (1766–71), raised the salary of the Mexican Viceroys from $40,000 to $70,000 a year. Many civic improvements. He doubled the size of the Alameda; sent a royal convoy to Spain (1770) with thirty millions of silver *pesos*, and was instrumental in enforcing the royal order (of June 25, 1767) which expelled the Jesuits from Mexico. An able ruler.

Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, 46th V. (1771–79), a wise, benevolent, and thoroughly admirable man, whose influence is yet felt in Mexico. He developed the country in a variety of ways; increased commerce; minted $127,396,000 in Mex. silver; fostered the military strength of the nation, and carried to completion more civic reforms than had all the viceroys combined who preceded him. With this man arose the star of New Spain. A book could be filled with the stories (still current among the people) of his wisdom, kindness, and judgment. He died in office April 9, 1779, and was buried with great honors in the church of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. Several of the principal streets of the city (the *Calles de Bucareli*, p. 371) were named for him, and his memory is fresh and sweet in the hearts of intelligent Mexicans.

Martín de Mayorga (Governor of Guatemala), 47th V. (1779–83).

Matías de Gálvez, surnamed "The Diligent," 48th V. (1783–85), an earnest, quiet worker, with an ambition to elevate the people to better things.

Bernardo de Gálvez (son of *Matías de G.*), 49th V. (1785–87), constructed the Castillo de Chapultepec (p. 386).

Alonzo Núñez de Haro y Peralta (Archbishop of Mexico), 50th V. (1787).

Manuel Antonio Flores (Governor of Bogotá), 51st V. (1787–89).

Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco de Padilla (*Conde de Revillagigedo*), 52d V. (1789–94), a stern and eccentric nobleman with an aptitude for civic reform. He ably seconded the work begun by *Bucareli;* caused the streets of Mexico City to be cleaned, paved, and lighted; organized an efficient police force; executed a number of highwaymen; established weekly posts between the capital and outlying intendencies, and remodelled the military organization. He started an expedition from Mexico that reached as far north as Behring's Straits. He was wont to prowl the city's streets at midnight in search of abuses, which he summarily corrected, and he placed a locked box with a slit in the lid, in a public place, for the receipt of petitions and complaints from those who could

not obtain a personal interview with him. One night he entered a street flanked by squalid dwellings and terminating in a *cul de sac*. The *corregidor* (mayor) was at once ordered to open a wide highway and to have it completed so that he, the Viceroy, might drive through it on his way to mass the following morning. A small army of workmen were routed out of their beds, and the next morning the *Calle de Revillagigedo* (which now intersects the Avenida Juarez at the Alameda in Mex. City) was completed.

Miguel de la Grua Talamanca (*Marqués de Branciforte*, an Italian adventurer), 53d V. (1794–98), secured his appointment by chicanery, and before his retirement succeeded in making himself the most cordially detested official in the Colony. During his reign all that portion of Florida (now U. S. A.) lying west of the Perdido River was ceded to France.

Miguel José de Azanza, called "The Bonapartist," 54th V. (1798–1800).

Felix Berenguer de Marquina, 55th V. (1800–03), caused to be made the splendid equestrian statue (comp. p. 373) of Carlos IV, at Mexico City.

José de Iturrigaray, "The Monarchist," 56th V. (1803–08).

Pedro Garibay, "The Revolutionist," 57th V. (1808), *ad interim*.

Francisco Javier Lizana (Archbishop of Mexico), 58th V. (1809–10).

Pedro Catani (*Presidente* of the *Audiencia*), 59th V. (1810), *ad interim*.

Francisco Javier Venegas, 60th V. (1810–16). Coincident with the opening of his reign began the Revolutionary period.

Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, 61st V. (1816–21), was known as "The Unfortunate," because he reached Mexico when the power of Spain was declining, and the country was in the throes of a revolutionary war which the Spanish troops were unable to quell.

Francisco de Novella, Azabal, Perez y Sicardo, 62d V. (1821), remained in office but a few months, and was the last of the vice-regal line. He was relieved by

Juan O'Donoju, Captain-General of New Spain, and the last Spanish ruler in Mexico. He reached Vera Cruz in 1821, took the oath of office there Aug. 3, but was prevented by the revolutionists from exercising his authority. He died at Mexico City Oct. 7, from an attack of pleurisy brought on — it is said — by chagrin at the thought that Mexico was no longer a Spanish colony.[1]

h. War for Independence. During the reign of the Spanish Viceroy *José de Iturrigaray*, in Mexico, the internal affairs

[1] Portraits in oil of all the succession of rulers, from *Cortés* to *O'Donoju*, may be studied in the National Museum (p. 298), and in the Palacio Municipal (p. 292) at Mexico City.

of Spain were hopelessly muddled; *Carlos IV* had abdicated in favor of *Ferdinand VII*, who, in turn, had been forced to step aside in favor of Joseph Bonaparte. *Iturrigaray* believed that Mexico should govern itself (with a Spanish Viceroy as King), and he convened an assembly of notables with the aim of securing the necessary power. He won over the masses by promising to relinquish the regency as soon as another Spanish King should occupy the Spanish throne. The Spaniards in Mexico rebelled, seized the Viceroy, and imprisoned him in the fortress of San Juan de Ulua (at Vera Cruz), whence he was sent back to Spain.

The independence idea appealed to the people and they nursed it. Centuries of despotism and misgovernment had failed to kill out the patriotism and strength of the Mexicans, and independence soon became the chief thought of every one. Correspondence clubs were established in some of the towns, and plans for an early uprising were formulated. *Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla*, parish priest of the village of *Dolores* (in Guanajuato), took the idea of freedom for Mexico nearest to heart. He was a Creole (born May 8, 1753), nearly sixty years old, with a powerful influence over the Indians of his parish. He began the manufacture of lances, and planned an uprising during the annual Indian *fiesta* which began in Dec. His nearest confidants were the several members of an alleged Society for the Study of the Fine Arts, established in 1808 in the city of Querétaro. From this centre a sustained influence was soon radiating, and the society counted upon many members in the adjoining State of Guanajuato. The influence of the Mayor (*Corregidor*) of Querétaro was soon secured, as well as that of his wife, *La Corregidora, Doña Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez*. Coincidently arms and ammunition, and the adherence of Captains *Ignacio Allende* and *Juan Aldama* of the King's Regiment, stationed hard by, were also obtained.

Mariano Galvan, a traitor to the cause, imparted his knowledge to the Querétaro postmaster, who immediately repaired to Mexico City and disclosed the revolutionary plans to the Government. On the night of Sept. 13, an intimation of the publicity of the plans reached the ears of *Rafael Gil de Leon*, an ecclesiastic judge of Q., and because of his friendship for the mayor he warned him. The latter at once sought the advice of his wife, who in turn sent a trusty messenger to warn *Hidalgo* of his peril. The *Cura* was told (at 2 A. M. Sept. 16) that the conspiracy was discovered, and he decided to strike the blow at once. At early mass, he announced to his parishioners that "Spain was no longer Spanish, but was French, and that the time for Mexico to be free had come." He dwelt upon how the Spanish soldiery had oppressed even the peaceful inhabitants of his own village, stealing their savings,

ruining their fields, and violating their homes. The modest silk industry started by *Hidalgo* had been destroyed, as the Spaniards had cut down the mulberry trees. The Indians appeared ripe for a revolt. *Hidalgo* then rang the famous liberty bell (comp. p. 268), and voiced the stirring appeal known since as the *Grito de Dolores* (the cry from Dolores). This was, in substance: "Long live our most Holy Mother of Guadalupe! Long live America, and death to bad government!" The zealous patriot began the march forthwith. Passing the church of *Atotonilco*, he took therefrom a banner bearing a picture of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and, affixing it to his lance, adopted it as the standard of the "Army of Independence." The making of the struggle a religious war as well as one for freedom was more the promptings of a pious mind than a premeditated stroke of diplomacy. The priest felt that with so redoubtable a patroness victory would assuredly be theirs.

The idea filled the Indians with enthusiasm, and when the insurgents reached the town of San Miguel that night, the regiment to which *Captain Allende* belonged declared at once for independence. Celaya surrendered on Sept. 21, as the army marched through on its way to the rich city of Guanajuato. An organisation of the army was attempted at Celaya, and *Hidalgo* was proclaimed Captain-General of his 20,000 troops.

Guanajuato, capital of the Province of G., contained 80,000 inhabitants, the richest silver-mines in Spanish-America, and was, in point of wealth, second to Mexico City. After desperate fighting, the place was captured. The Spaniards took refuge in the *Alhóndiga*, or Castle of Grenaditas, and one of the bloodiest battles of the revolution soon raged round its walls. The insurgents were for the most part armed with bows and arrows, slings, *machetes* (cane-knives), and lances, and while the provincial militia fought with great determination, under skilled officers, the impetuous onslaught of the patriots won. Despite *Hidalgo's* earnest entreaties, a general massacre took place. Three centuries of Spanish misrule and oppression told upon the Indians, and their war-cry, "*Mueran los Gachupines*" (death to the Spaniards), was emphasised by three days of carnage and destruction.

From the *Alhóndiga*, *Hidalgo* secured five millions of *pesos*, which went to swell the treasury of the revolutionists. The province declared for him and many of the provincial militia deserted to his standard. He at once had the bells of the city cast into cannon, employed the mint to coin money (in the name of *Ferdinand VII*), and continued his attempts to organise his army.

Meanwhile the Viceroy had awakened to the dangers of the situation, and was sending out troops under skilled command-

ers to combat the insurgents, and to protect places along their proposed line of march. The Church became alarmed at the peril which threatened it through a government over which it had established a quasi-protectorate. The Bishop of Michoacan hurled edicts of excommunication against all insurgents, and *Archbishop Lizana* issued a pastoral letter combating the principles upon which *Hidalgo* justified the revolution, and ordering the Spanish and Creole clergy to declare from their pulpits, and cause it to be everywhere known, that the purpose of the revolution was to subvert the Holy Catholic Church. The Inquisition charged *Hidalgo* with every error of which that tribunal took cognisance. The Viceroy *Venegas* published a proclamation offering a reward of ten thousand *pesos* for the capture, dead or alive, of *Hidalgo* and his two chief military companions.

The army left Guanajuato (Oct. 10) and proceeded to Valladolid (now Morelia), which immediately declared for independence. Upon the approach of the army, the Bishop, Council, and civil authorities evacuated the place. Here *Hidalgo's* force was swelled by a considerable body of soldiery, and the erstwhile country priest found himself at the head of an undisciplined army of 80,000 men. He took vast sums from the coffers of the Valladolid Cathedral, but was excommunicated by the Bishop of the diocese for the act. Here he also learned of a vice-regal proclamation decreeing that any one taken with arms against the Government would be shot within fifteen minutes after capture without the "benefit of clergy."

The army began its march to Mexico City, gaining new adherents by the way. *Hidalgo* reviewed his troops at Acámbaro and was proclaimed "*Generalísimo*." Oct. 30, he fought his first engagement with the royal forces in the field (at *Monte de las Cruces*), and won a signal victory over the Spanish forces under General *Truxillo*. The defeat demoralized the vice-regal army, and had *Hidalgo* moved at once upon the capital, it is probable that it would have fallen into his hands and given success to his plans. Herein he proved a poor *generalísimo*, and showed a lack of military sagacity. After advancing to the *hacienda* of *Quaximalpa* (5 leagues from the panic-stricken capital) and sending a summons (which elicited no reply) to the Viceroy to surrender, he retreated with his army toward the interior of the country. On Nov. 7, the army encountered a train of artillery and 10,000 well-equipped Creole troops commanded by General *Felix María Calleja del Rey*, who had been sent out to concentrate the vice-regal forces. In the desperate battle which ensued, Hidalgo's Indians displayed more courage than discretion; rushing with their clubs and improvised lances upon the bayonets of the enemy, to fall in heaps. They were so ignorant of the effects

of artillery that they ran up to cannon in action and attempted to stop them with their *sombreros*. After beating a hasty retreat, it was found that they had suffered a loss equal to the entire Spanish force.

Entering Guadalajara, *Hidalgo* concentrated his forces and organized a government. *Calleja* went to Guanajuato, and made that city the scene of notable cruelties in retaliation for the excesses committed by Hidalgo's Indians. Fourteen thousand of the inhabitants were butchered.

A commissioner sent by *Hidalgo* from Guadalajara to the United States was captured by the Spaniards, the patriot's plans and resources were learned, and his downfall hastened. While he was engaged in promulgating decrees abolishing slavery and stamp duties, royal forces were sent against him, a battle was fought at *Puente de Calderon* (Jan. 16, 1811), and the army of independence dispersed. *Hidalgo, Allende, Aldama*, and *Jimenez* held together and started northward, intending to secure assistance and purchase arms in the United States. They were captured and later executed, and their heads taken to Guanajuato and placed upon pikes at the four corners of the *Alhóndiga*, as "a warning to Mexicans who chose to revolt against Spanish government." There the heads remained until independence was won. In 1823, their bodies were buried under the *Altar de los Reyes*, in the apse of the Mexico City Cathedral.

Hidalgo's logical successor was his pupil, *José María Morelos*, a Mestizo, a Catholic priest, an intrepid fighter, and a commander of marked ability. He took over the command and began a successful and destructive campaign against the Spaniards. In six-and-twenty hard-fought engagements he was successful in all but two. In a battle near Acapulco (whither he was sent by *Hidalgo* in 1810), he defeated the vice-regal troops, captured 800 muskets, 5 pieces of artillery, 700 prisoners, much ammunition, and a large sum of money. After the war he was known as "The Hero of a Hundred Battles."

Among the trusted lieutenants of *Morelos* was another priest, *Mariano Matamoros*, noted for his military genius. Aiding him were the celebrated *Dr. Cos*, the *Bravos* brothers, *Galena, Manuel de Mier y Teran, Felix Hernandez, Ignacio Lopez Rayon, José María Liceaga*, and a host of ambitious patriots.

Early in 1812 two battalions of Spanish troops, including a famous regiment of *Asturias* (which had won the title of "the Invincibles" in the Peninsula), came to Mexico to support the vice-regal government, and to assist in reducing the Independents to subjection. The insurgents were severely punished, but their military exploits were not checked. A guerrilla warfare now raged throughout the colony, and the royal troops were harassed incessantly. The exploits of the

rancheros (ranchmen) formed one of the most picturesque chapters of the long war. Expert in the use of the lariat; born with an aptitude for guerrilla fighting, hardy, brave, and persistent, they were to the Spaniards what Morgan and his shifty band were to the Northern troops during the American war of 1864. They travelled usually in small groups, and scattered when danger threatened, to reunite at some given point miles away. Each unit was a formidable fighting machine, at once dreaded and detested by the Iberian troops, who were unused to being dragged from their saddles by a hurtling lasso, bumped across a cacti-strewn plain and trussed and hustled like yearling steers.

Morelos now called a Congress of Mexicans, and essayed to organize an Independent Nation. Forty deputies assembled at Chilpancingo in Sept., 1813, and *Morelos* was nominated Captain-General of the Independent forces; decrees were passed abolishing slavery, imprisonment for debt, and the collection of tithes for the support of religious societies. The Congress removed to Tlacotepec, and finally convened in Apatzingan, where it published (Nov. 16, 1813) its formal Declaration of Independence of Spain. "Mexico was declared free from Spanish control, with liberty to work out its own destiny, and with the Roman Catholic religion for its spiritual guidance." The name chosen for the new nation was "The Kingdom of Anáhuac." A Constitution, liberal in its provisions, was adopted. Copies of this, and the Declaration, were, by order of the Viceroy, ceremoniously burned in public in the City of Mexico, and in the principal towns of the Republic.

Morelos now undertook to traverse a section of the country in possession of the Spaniards, and was captured (near Texmalaca), loaded with chains, and taken as a prisoner to the capital. He was brought before the Holy Office, condemned, and his *auto-de-fé* was the last pronounced by the Inquisition in Mexico. After being degraded by the priesthood he was handed over to the secular arm, and was shot at San Cristóbal Ecatepec in Dec., 1815.

The heroic days of the revolution ended with *Morelos*, and the cause soon languished. When (Sept., 1816) *Calleja del Rey* was succeeded in the *Virreinato* by *Juan Ruiz de Apodaca*, the insurgents were apparently under Spanish control. Every captured revolutionist had been summarily shot. With the exception of the freebooting expedition of *Francisco Javier Mina*, in 1817, Mexico was so little disturbed by actual war until 1820, that the Viceroy, whose policy was conciliatory, reported to the Regent that he would answer for the safety of Mexico, and that there was no need of sending any more troops from Spain.

But a formidable uprising soon occurred, and the Viceroy

appointed *Agustin de Iturbide*, commander of the District of the South. After fighting a few engagements with the insurgents under General *Vicente Guerrero*, *Iturbide* met the latter and proposed that they should unite in proclaiming the independence of Mexico. In conformity, *Iturbide* published (Feb. 24) the famous *Plan de Iguala* known as *Las Tres Garantías*, in that it provided for the conservation of the Roman Catholic Church, for the absolute independence of Mexico as a moderate monarchy, with an ostensible adhesion to Ferdinand VII, and for the union of Spaniards and Mexicans in the bonds of friendship. The plan received the immediate support of the clergy, who just now found themselves in an awkward situation.[1]

The colors of the Mexican flag (adopted April 14, 1823) represented the *Tres Garantías:* white (religious purity); red (union of Spaniards and Mexicans); green (independence). *Iturbide's* army was thereafter called the *Army of the Three Guarantees.*

Revolutionary leaders, who had retired from the struggle discouraged, came to the front, the people arose *en masse*, and Mexico was soon aflame with the sacred cause of patriotism. The Viceroy, *Apodaca* (the Unfortunate), was forced to resign, and *Francisco de Novella* became Viceroy *ad interim.* The *Plan de Iguala* was a popular success, and *Iturbide* captured the cities of Valladolid, Querétaro, and Puebla, and laid siege to Mexico City. When General *Juan O'Donoju*, bearing the commission of Captain-General, arrived at Vera Cruz (July 30, 1821) to supersede the Viceroy *Novella*, he found the country in the hands of the Independents, and Vera Cruz itself in the possession of the Independent Chief, *Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna* (b. Feb. 21, 1795, d. June 21, 1876).

The Spanish representative was placed in the embarrassing position of having to ask of *Santa Anna* the privilege of landing upon the continent, and of requesting of *Iturbide* a safe conduct to the capital. Perceiving that it would be impossible to arrest the revolution by force, *O'Donoju* proposed to treat with *Iturbide.* They met at Córdoba (Aug. 24, 1821), and *O'Donoju* signed, on behalf of his Government, the "Treaty of Córdoba." It embodied the *Plan de Iguala;* declared Mexico sovereign and independent; provided for a constitutional

[1] In 1820 the Spanish revolutionists proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, and *Ferdinand* found himself under the necessity of supporting it. This Constitution dissolved the convents, abolished the Inquisition, ordained the freedom of the press, and seized the tithes of the secular clergy on the ground that the money was required by the State in a great emergency. The Mexican clergy at once found their privileges and alleged rights menaced, and despite the fact that nine years before, they had opposed the revolution in Mexico, and had denounced as heretical the idea of Independence or separation from Spain, they now discovered that their interests demanded "an absolute separation from Spain and its radicalism!"

representative monarchy, for the call of the Bourbon family of Spain to the throne, and for the immediate establishment of a provisional government, pending the arrival of the chosen monarch. It also assured to the people the liberty of the press, and the equal rights of Spaniards and Mexicans, and provided that the Army of the Three Guarantees should occupy the capital, and that the Spanish troops should be sent out of the country as soon as possible.

Iturbide made his triumphal entry into Mexico City Sept. 27, 1821, and on that date ended the Spanish power in Mexico. He was hailed as "Liberator," and the occasion was marked by great rejoicing. The title of Lord High Admiral was conferred upon him, and as *Generalísimo* of the Army and head of the nation, the people addressed him as Serene Highness.

Guatemala voluntarily united with Mexico Feb. 21, 1822 (it seceded July 1, 1823), and *Iturbide* found himself the master of a nation whose territorial extent was one of the greatest in the world — China and Russia alone being larger. Its possessions comprised, in addition to the present Republic of Mexico, Guatemala on the south, and on the north all the region between the Red and Arkansas Rivers and the Pacific Ocean, extending as far north as the present northern boundary of the United States.

To the great disgust of the old Spanish nobility he instituted an order of nobility, calling the members *Caballeros* (gentlemen) *de Guadalupe*, and embarked upon a riotous course which soon caused his downfall.

1. **First Empire.** The First Congress of the Mexican Nation convened Feb. 24, 1822, and was found to comprise three distinct parties, notwithstanding the oath taken by each deputy to support the *Plan de Iguala* and the *Treaty of Córdoba*. One party — composed of the army, the clergy, and a few malcontents — wanted to place *Iturbide* on the throne. The *Republicanos* wanted the "Plan" set aside and a Federal Republic established. The *Independents* and the Spaniards — united only in their hatred of *Iturbide* — desired to have executed exactly the *Plan de Iguala* by placing on the throne a Spanish Prince. The meeting was the signal for hostilities which extended over nearly fifty years.

On May 18, 1822, the "Liberator" forced a *pronunciamiento* in his favor in the *cuartel* (barracks) of *San Hipólito* (Mexico City), and in a turbulent meeting of Congress, from which Republican members were excluded, *Iturbide* was elected Emperor of Mexico by a vote of 75 to 15. He immediately took the oath of office before Congress, and organized a Provisional Council of State. On the 21st of July he and his wife were anointed and crowned with great solemnity in the Mexico City Cathedral; *Iturbide* assumed the title of *Agustín I, Emperador*. His first act was to dissolve the existing Con-

gress, imprison its most contumacious members, and replace them by a *junta* composed of two deputies from each province, of his own selection.

j. **Fall of the Empire and Rise of the Republic.** A monarchical government for Mexico was unsatisfactory to the Revolutionary leaders. The bombast of the arrogant, pageant-loving Mestizo seemed a poor result for the sacrifice of the good *cura Hidalgo*, of the intrepid *Morelos, Allende, Aldama,* and a hundred other pure-minded patriots. For a time *Iturbide* was able to quell the uprisings by the aid of national troops, but the empire fell into disrepute, and soon collapsed. General *Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna* headed (Dec., 1822) a formidable uprising in Jalapa, and in a month's time *Iturbide's* alleged empire was reduced to the limits of Mexico City. *Guerrero* and *Bravo* followed the example of *Santa Anna* and led a revolt in the North. The country was soon aflame with anger, and rather than provoke a civil war *Iturbide* abdicated (March 20, 1823), and under a declaration of banishment from the country, he was permitted to retire from the capital. His salary as Emperor had been $125,000 a year (which he paid to himself from forced loans and with paper money issued by his commands), and in recognition of his eminent services to Mexico he was granted a life annuity of $25,000. Soon after his retirement he wrote from London to the Mexican Government, warning it of the machinations of the "Holy Alliance" to restore Spanish rule in Mexico. He offered his services should an attempt be made. Congress replied (April 28) to his letter by a decree declaring that should *Iturbide* return he would be regarded as a traitor and be put to death. Unaware of this, *Iturbide* landed in disguise at Soto la Marina (July 14, 1824), was arrested, brought before the legislature of the State of Tamaulipas, and condemned to death. He was shot July 24, 1824.

The *Plan of Iguala*, with its three guarantees of Religion, Independence, and Union, and the Treaty of Córdoba were now repudiated by Congress. The bars of green, white, and red in the flag of the *Tres Garantías* had been horizontal; they were now changed to upright, with the green bar next to the staff, and this was adopted as the flag of the Republic. The national coat-of-arms, showing an eagle upon a *nopal* cactus, strangling a serpent, was also adopted.

A Congress was installed (Nov., 1823) to discuss the adoption of a fundamental law for the country, and it drew up an instrument closely resembling that of the Constitution of the United States. It contained thirty-six articles (proclaimed in the form of a Constitution, Oct. 4, 1824) and it defined the government to be Popular, Representative, Federal, and Republican. It proclaimed the national sovereignty; the independence of the States (allowing them independent govern-

ment in internal affairs, without prejudice to the rights of the Federal Government); the organization of the supreme power, the independence of the judicial powers, and guaranteed to the clergy their already vested rights. This new Republic comprised five territories and nineteen states; each of the latter with a governor, legislature, and a tribunal of justice. The States were to organize their governments in conformity to the Federal Act. The general powers of the National Government resided in the Federal District (Mexico City) and comprised a General Congress, a Supreme Court of Judicature, and a President — of the United Mexican States — with four Ministers. The legislative power was vested in a Congress comprising a Senate and House of Representatives. The Supreme Court was to be composed of 11 judges, elected by the legislatures of the several States.

The third article of the Constitution was significant: "The Religion of the Mexican Nation is, and will perpetually be, the Roman Catholic Apostolic. The nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibit the exercise of any other whatever."

The Constitution was received by the people with customary enthusiasm. *Felix Fernandez*, who styled himself *Guadalupe Victoria* (in homage to the Virgin of Guadalupe), took the oath of office (Oct. 4, 1825) as the first President of Mexico, and the country began its career as a Constitutional Republic.

In 1825 the fortress of San Juan de Ulua (Vera Cruz), until then held by the last of the Spanish forces, was evacuated, and the Republic of Mexico received the formal recognition of England and the United States. The paternal support received by the fledgeling Republic from the great American Republic at the north gave it an impetus which had potent bearing on its future. The message of President Monroe (Dec., 1823) to the Congress of the United States contained the following significant declarations:

"(1) The American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any foreign power: (2) Any attempt on the part of European Powers to extend their political systems to any portion of the Western Hemisphere would be considered dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. Any interposition by such Powers for the purpose of opposing or controlling the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence had been acknowledged by the United States, could not be viewed in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to the United States; that the political system of European Powers could not be extended to any portion of either of the American continents without endangering the peace and happiness of the United States, nor would such extension be regarded with indifference."

This "Monroe Doctrine" bomb-shell "launched into the armed camps of Europe" enabled the Mexican Republic to start on its eventful career unhampered by foreign interfer-

ence; it was effectual in preventing Spain from making further serious attempts to reclaim her lost provinces in America, although she withheld the recognition of the Republic of Mexico until 1836. (Comp. p. clx.)

The Free and Independent Republic progressed during the wise administration (4 years) of its first President. He signalized (1825) the anniversary of the *Grito de Dolores* by the liberation of certain slaves purchased by the Government with a fund raised for that purpose; and of other slaves given up by their owners with the same object in view. A law was passed (1826) abolishing all titles of nobility and restricting parents with regard to the distribution of property among their children, thus striking a blow at the Spanish institution of *mayorazgo*, or primogeniture. The treasury was full of money (the remainder of a loan of sixteen millions of dollars, negotiated at London in 1823 and known as the "English Debt"), and the future was bright.

But the Church — then a hot-bed of insurrection and unrest — squirmed under its restrictions and the loss of power arrogated to itself under vice-regal rule. Any government not wholly ecclesiastical was viewed by the clergy with distrust, and the first rift in the lute came (1827) in the form of an insurrection headed by two Franciscan friars, who aimed to restore the prestige lost by Spain and the Mother Church. The incident caused a strong anti-Spanish feeling, and a decree was secured (1828) by the Federalists for the expulsion of all Spaniards from Mexico.

A great warring ensued between the Centralists or Conservatives (the Church party) and the Federalists or Liberals (Republican party), and albeit the Spaniards were permitted to remain in the country, peace was henceforth but illusory, and was maintained by force of arms.

Prominent among the turbulent spirits of this era was General *Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna*, a shrewd but unprincipled Creole; accomplished, courageous, and quick to espouse any cause that promised personal advancement. He attained to the presidency in 1832 — after a series of "mimic revolutions" which extended over four or five years — and until his final overthrow the Republic was in a turmoil which made material progress impossible.

Combating retrogression and striving to advance their country, such men as *Vicente Guerrero*, General *Manuel Gomez Pedraza*, General *Bravo*, and *Valentin Gomez Farias* (at one time Vice-President) were prominent among the honorable, intelligent, and democratic spirits of the epoch. *Gomez Farias* aimed to secure the absolute liberty of the press; the abolishment of special class privileges whereby the clergy and the army gained great advantages over the masses; the separation of Church and State, including the suppression of monas-

tic institutions (the great idea made effective by the *Leyes de Reforma* of President Juarez nearly three decades later); the abolition of the right of ecclesiastics to interfere in secular affairs; the restoration and maintenance of the national credit by a readjustment of the public debt; and a host of measures which would have worked for the country's good.

He succeeded in establishing a decree abolishing the system of tithes levied as a tax for the support of ecclesiastical institutions; and another enjoining the civil courts from maintaining the binding force of monastic vows, leaving members of religious organizations free to abandon their convents if they chose to do so. In many wise acts he began the system of government reforms which it took the remainder of the nineteenth century to see accomplished.

Santa Anna, who meanwhile had been in retirement on his *hacienda* at Mango de Clava, secured again the reins of government (1834), annulled the liberal decrees of *Gomez Farias*, deposed that able and honorable man from the Vice-Presidency, and compelled him to leave the country. The lovers of liberal institutions and good government looked on with dismay, but without power to interfere. Mexico's universal reputation for unstable government was now assured. Its people were regarded as restless and revolutionary, and in some quarters as being savage and uncivilized. The elevation of *Santa Anna* to the unlimited power of Dictator was destined to confirm this evil reputation.

In May, 1835, the *Plan de Toluca* was promulgated, whereby the Federal System was declared changed into a Centralized Government, termed by decree the Central Republic. A new Constitution was adopted by Congress, known as *Las Siete Leyes* — the seven laws. It confirmed the Centralized System, with but one House of Legislature for the entire country. The States were changed into Departments, under the control of Military Commandants, who were responsible to the chief authority of the nation. The Republic now became a military oligarchy, and until 1847 the supreme power was vested in whoever might be, at the time, the most successful military leader. Conditions in Mexico were almost anarchical; life was unsafe, property was not respected, and the reputation of the country abroad was of the worst.

k. **The War with the United States.**[1] "In 1820, Moses Austin, a resident of Missouri, U. S. A., obtained the privilege of settling in Texas under the plea of being a Roman Catholic persecuted by Protestants. A certain element in the U. S. A. believed that Texas belonged more to their Government than to that of Mexico, and that President Monroe, in voluntarily surrendering it to Spain (at the time of the cession of Florida),

[1] Consult *History of the American Civil War*, by John W. Draper; M.D., LL.D. (New York, 1868.)

acted unwisely. Moses Austin died prematurely, but his son, Stephen F. Austin, carried out his intentions, and the Americans obtained a foothold in the country. In 1821, Mexico granted certain charters to colonists, which from time to time were renewed by the successive governments. In 1827 and 1829, ineffectual attempts were made by the American Government to purchase Texas from Mexico. It was obvious that the possession of it was absolutely necessary to the South, in order that her system might have freedom of expansion westwardly, and an equipoise be maintained with the North, in Congress. Adventurers were often encouraged by the prevailing public sentiment to emigrate to it, with the intention of detaching it forcibly from Mexico. The Anglo-Saxon traditions of these settlers were so at variance with Spanish institutions, that the fickle and dictatorial government of *Santa Anna* soon goaded them into rebellion. Many arbitrary acts on the part of the Mexican Government aided in the precipitation of this revolt, which, on account of the many internal dissensions, it was little able to counteract.

"When the Federal Mexican Government abrogated the State Constitution, in 1835, thus despoiling the Texans of the rights granted them by the Constitution of 1824, it precipitated a crisis. General Sam Houston, a Virginian by birth, led the Texans in their fight for independence. Santa Anna, whose 'uninterrupted military successes had emboldened him to adopt the self-assumed title of the Napoleon of the West,' set out, in Feb., 1836, at the head of an army of 8,000 of the best troops of Mexico, to suppress the rebellion. The Texans were defeated at the Alamo and Goliad, and those of them who were taken prisoners of war were atrociously murdered in cold blood. The whole garrison of the Alamo was put to the sword. The Texans had hitherto belittled the valor of their antagonists, but the barbaric despotism of Santa Anna goaded them to fury and made peace impossible. On the 23d of April, 783 men, under General Houston, met the Dictator at the San Jacinto River, and after a battle which lasted only 20 minutes, they captured the whole Mexican army, including Santa Anna. The character of this conflict may be understood from the statement that the Mexicans killed were 630, the wounded 208. Nothing but the firmness of the American commander saved *Santa Anna* from immediate execution. The Mexican President, thus constrained in his extremity, was obliged to acknowledge the independence of Texas. Hereupon he was liberated, and allowed to return to his country by way of the United States. This, he seemed in no hurry to do, and he did not return to Mexico City until nearly a year after his capture by the Texans. He then addressed a letter to the Mexican Secretary of War, disavowing all treaties and stipulations made with the Texans under duress. Meanwhile the new

Republic of Texas was established in October, 1836, with a Constitution modelled on that of the United States, and with General Houston as its first President. The United States forthwith acknowledged its independence, as did France, England, and Belgium. The new Republic maintained its separate existence until 1844. Repeated efforts were made to have it annexed to the U. S. A., and it soon became a political touchstone, an important point in American civil policy.

"President Tyler, on the last day of his term of office, concluded a treaty with Texan representatives, by which Texas became a State of the Union. This treaty was ratified by the American Congress in March, 1845. It was characterised by General Juan N. Almonte (who was captured at the San Jacinto River along with Santa Anna, and who was at this later period Mexican Minister at Washington) as an act of aggression, 'the most unjust which can be found in the annals of modern history.' This fiery general (who owed his life to the clemency of the then President of the annexed district) succeeded in arousing feelings of great bitterness in Mexico. Diplomatic relations between Texas and Mexico were suspended, General Almonte demanded his passport and returned to Mexico, and General Taylor, the United States commander in the Southwest, received orders to advance to the Rio Grande. The Mexican President Herrera issued a proclamation declaring the annexation a breach of international faith, and called upon the citizens of Mexico to rally to the defence of the territorial integrity of the country.

"While General Taylor was approaching the Rio Grande, troops were sent north to enforce the claims of Mexico to the territory in dispute.

"General Taylor reached the Rio Grande at Matamoros March 26, 1846, and in May the battles of Palo Alto (May 8) and Resaca de la Palma (May 9) were fought, resulting in victories for the Americans."

On May 13, the American Congress appropriated $10,000,000 for the prosecution of the war, and 50,000 volunteers were ordered to be raised. General Stephen W. Kearney was sent to occupy the then Mexican province of California, Colonel Doniphan was ordered to proceed southward toward Chihuahua, and General Scott to besiege Vera Cruz and march to the capital therefrom. Santa Anna, who had been in Cuba, in exile, returned to Mexico and took command of the Mexican army. This army was poorly equipped, and though the men fought with the coolness and bravery characteristic of the Mexican soldier, they were defeated on every hand.

The battle of Sacramento was fought Feb. 28, 1847, and on March 2, Doniphan's command occupied Chihuahua. Meanwhile a revolt had been excited in California against Mexican

rule, and formal possession of the country was taken by Commodore Stockton. On March 9, 1847, 12,000 men, under General Scott, were landed in a single evening at Vera Cruz, and after a five days' bombardment from sea and land the city surrendered, 5,000 prisoners and 500 pieces of cannon being taken. Scott now commenced his march to Mex. City along the National Road. Approaching the heights of Cerro Gordo, he found they were occupied by Santa Anna with 15,000 men. In the attack that ensued the position was forced, 3,000 prisoners and 43 guns being captured. The *Castillo de Perote* was soon taken, and on May 15, Worth's Division, numbering 4,000 men, camped in the Plaza of Puebla. Scott's army, now reduced to 4,290 men, was obliged to remain in Puebla until August 7, awaiting reinforcements. These came, and the invading army, now amounting to 11,000 men, marched through the *Pass of Rio Frio* and on toward the capital.

On August 20, the Mexican outposts were taken, San Antonio was captured, the fortified post of Churubusco was assaulted and gained, and the road leading to Mexico City was opened. In these operations the American loss in killed, wounded, and missing was 1,053. The Mexican loss was four times as great, and 37 guns were taken.

Delayed by an armistice and by abortive negotiations for peace, it was not until Sept. 7 that Scott renewed active operations for the possession of Chapultepec. Two formidable outworks, *Molino del Rey* and *Casa Mata*, were carried, though with severe loss, Chapultepec (comp. p. 381) was stormed and captured, and on Sept. 14, 1847, the flag of the United States was hoisted on the National Palace of Mexico. Scott made a triumphant entry into Mexico City at the head of less than 6,000 troops.

Meanwhile the battles of Buena Vista had been fought, Monterey was stormed and taken, and the Northern army of Mexico ruined. The capture of the City of Mexico was a decisive blow, and on Feb. 2, 1848, the Peace Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was made.

In this treaty New Mexico and Upper California, comprising 522,955 square miles of territory, were ceded to the United States. The lower Rio Grande, from its mouth to El Paso, was taken as the boundary of Texas. The United States agreed to pay fifteen millions of dollars in five annual instalments. The claims of American citizens against Mexico, not exceeding three and a quarter millions of dollars, were also assumed. For a treaty dictated by a conquering army, in the capital of the nation treated with, this instrument stands unparalleled in history.[1]

[1] The cost in money to the United States was $166,500,000; 25,000 men were killed or died.

l. **Withdrawal of the American Army, Internecine Strife.** Coincident with the retirement of the American army from Mexico, President Herrera removed his seat of government from Querétaro to the capital, and the sadly demoralized country set about perfecting the organization for future government and prosperity. For a year or more the wise, economical, tolerant, and progressive Herrera was permitted to bind up the wounds caused by the war and to start the country once more on its way to peace and happiness. But during this period the disturbing elements in the social economy of Mexico were only quiescent, in order that they might regain their wonted strength.

General *Mariano Arista* was constitutionally elected President in 1850, and was installed in office in Jan., 1851. It was the first instance in the history of the Republic that a constitutionally-elected President had been allowed to take his seat. He began by reforming the army, and the clergy at once took alarm at his liberalism. In July, 1852, a revolution, fomented by the Conservatives, broke out in Guadalajara, spread to Chihuahua, and even as far south as Oaxaca. It took the name of the *Plan del Hospicio*. *Arista*, averse to involving his country in another civil war, and disheartened at the course affairs were taking, resigned the presidency, left the country, and died a year later, in poverty and obscurity, at Lisbon. *Santa Anna*, who had been temporarily squelched by the American invasion, again came into prominence, and on April 15, 1853, took the oath as President. An era of the most despotic absolutism ensued. The ecclesiastical party was once more uppermost, and the Jesuits were reëstablished by a decree, dated May 1, 1853. The Dictator provided himself with ample funds, by the sale to the United States, for ten millions of dollars, of a tract of land (border land amounting to 45,535 square miles), known as the Gadsden Purchase. He reëstablished the Order of Guadalupe, originally instituted by the Emperor *Iturbide*, made himself the Grand Master thereof, and demanded that he be addressed as "Serene Highness." On the 16th of Dec., 1853, he issued a decree declaring himself "Perpetual Dictator." A government was thereby established more absolute than any Mexico had ever known. The press was muzzled, high Liberals were imprisoned, and the "court" of the Dictator was filled with the most vicious members of society. *Santa Anna's* personal vanity carried him to the extent of madness, and hastened his downfall.

A revolution, long brewing, broke out in Acapulco, and was called the *Plan de Ayutla*. It called for a Congress to form a new Constitution, by which a Federal Republican system would take the place of the Dictatorship established by *Santa Anna*. The leader of the plan was General *Juan Alvarez*, a revolutionary hero. It soon attracted the attention of *Ignacio*

Comonfort, who promptly organised an army sufficient in numbers to assume the aggressive against the Dictator at the capital. Unable to stem the tide of popular discontent, *Santa Anna* secretly left the city on the 9th of Aug., 1855, and went into voluntary exile. Between the flight of *Santa Anna* and the election of *Comonfort* as President, Dec. 12, there were two Presidents and an incipient revolution at the capital. The latter of these Presidents, *Juan Alvarez*, arrived in the capital, with his body-guard of Indians, in Nov., and organized his government with *Comonfort* as his Minister of War, and *Benito Juarez* (comp. p. 338) as Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Relations. This government was destined to be of transcendental importance to the entire future life of the Republic. *Benito Juarez* had long studied the welfare of his country; with prophetic insight he had located the cancerous growth that for nearly four centuries had sapped the life, energy, and wealth of the nation. Quietly, but with true Indian doggedness, he cut straight at the heart of the evil. One of the first acts of this new government of men rather than of inflated puppets, was the passage (Nov. 23, 1855) of the *Ley Juarez* (not to be confounded with the *Ley de Reforma*), a law intended to regulate the administration of justice and the organization of the courts of law. Its most significant feature was the suppression of special courts and the removal of the jurisdiction, in civil cases, from military and ecclesiastical powers. "One of the inheritances Mexico had received from the period of Spanish rule was the exclusive jurisdiction claimed by ecclesiastical and military courts in all cases, civil and criminal, in which clerics or soldiers were involved. The evils of such a system are easily seen when it is considered that half the crimes committed in Mexico were by men amenable only to military courts, and that these courts were exceedingly lax in the administration of justice. More than a quarter of the landed property in the country belonged to clerics; and even the women who kept house for them, and their servants, evaded the payment of just debts because the tradesmen could not enforce their claims in the civil courts."

The ecclesiastics saw at once that the *Ley Juarez* meant an attack on the sacred rights of the Church, and they opposed it vigorously. This brought into prominence the Rev. *Antonio Pelagio de Labastida y Dávalos*, Bishop of Michoacan, who had been but recently advanced to the Episcopate. He denounced as heretical the liberal doctrines promulgated, and threw all his influence against the Government. Despite the concentrated opposition of the Church, *Comonfort* vigorously repressed both the army and the Church; enforcing his decrees with the portion of the army that remained loyal to his Government. His next decisive step in the direction of reform was the famous *Ley Lerdo*, the production of Juarez and Ocampo,

though revised and introduced in Congress by Miguel Lerdo de Tejada and passed on June 25, 1856. This law, known as *El Decreto de* (the decree of) *Desamortización* (or Mortmain Statute), circumscribed the authority of the Church, and ordered the sale, at its assessed value, of all landed estate held by it. The Church was to receive the money proceeds of such sale, while the lands, passing into private hands, and freed of mortmain, would become part of the mobile and available wealth of the country at large. Up to the end of the year 1856, the total value of property transferred under this decree, officially termed *Ley de Desamortización Civil y Eclesiástica*, was over twenty millions of *pesos*.

The Clericals made strenuous efforts to defeat this law. The Bishop of Puebla protested against the intervention of the Government in matters belonging to the Church, and preached sermons of a seditious character thereupon. The Archbishop of Mexico desired to submit the question to the Pope at Rome — a proposition which was at once indignantly refused by the Government of Mexico. A reactionary movement was organized in Puebla and 15,000 troops were mobilized by the Clericals.

Comonfort not only acted with great promptness and decision in suppressing the revolution, but he issued a decree punishing the reactionary officers and causing the sequestration of enough of the Church property in the Diocese of Puebla to pay the expenses of the war, and to indemnify the Government for all damages sustained thereby. The Clericals throughout the land were stunned. Henceforth it was war to the knife between ignorance and superstition and progress and enlightenment. The war-cry of the Clerical Reactionaries was *Religion y Fueros* (Religion and Church Rights). A conspiracy, fomented by the monks in the convent of San Francisco in Mexico City, was discovered Sept. 16, 1856, and the next day *Comonfort* decreed the closure of the convent, and through the convent garden he caused to be cut a wide street which was named "*Independencia*" (comp. p. 322). Another big section of the vast property of the San Franciscans was opened up, and was converted into what is now the *Calle de Gante* (p. 320). "The clergy to some extent defeated the purposes of the *Ley Lerdo* by denouncing all who would purchase the lands of the Church under the law, and declaring that the 'Curse of God' would rest upon them because of their unholy traffic in holy things. By these threats the public was restrained from purchasing at the Government sales, and few bidders were found with courage to risk the 'Curse.' Those who bought in the property at low figures made fortunes at slight outlay, albeit they gained the bitter enmity of the Church. All this served to make the task of the Government more difficult." (Noll, *Empire to Republic.*)

A new Constitution, framed by Congress and subscribed to by *Comonfort*, was adopted Feb. 5, much to the chagrin of the Church Party. The Bishops throughout the country denounced it, and certain high officials in Mexico City were excommunicated. This Constitution (substantially that of Mexico to-day) was a direct affront to the Church. No sooner was it published than great excitement prevailed in all parts of the country, and wherever the clergy were dominant, the people were incited to rebellion. An allocution was received from Pope Pius IX, declaring the Government of Mexico *apocrypha*, and putting it under the anathema of the Church. The hitherto stanch *Comonfort* wavered beneath the powerful influence brought to bear upon him, and ten days after he had sworn to support the Constitution he gave way to the Clerical Party, set aside the Constitution, and tried to resume government under the "Bases of Political Organization" of 1843. To further placate the Church Party he cast *Benito Juarez* (Minister of Domestic Relations) into prison. When too late he tried to correct his mistake. He released *Juarez*, restored the Constitution, reorganized the National Guard, and took steps to suppress the insurrection in the capital. Failing to undo what he had done, he foresaw his own downfall and left the country Feb. 5, 1858. Immediately upon the flight of *Comonfort* the Reactionary Party proclaimed *Felix Zuloaga* President. The Liberals, assembled in Querétaro, organized under the Constitution of 1857, recognized *Benito Juarez* as Constitutional President, and had him installed on the 10th of Jan., 1858, several days before the election of Zuloaga. *Juarez* at once departed for Guadalajara, where he organized his government. During the troublous times that followed in Mexico City, *Juarez* went to the Pacific Coast, thence to the United States, and returned to Vera Cruz. Here he maintained his government for three years. The Reactionaries, who succeeded in holding the capital, governed the country by a succession of what are now termed "Anti-Presidents."

m. The War of the Reform (*La Guerra de la Reforma*), the culmination of the long struggle between the Conservative Clerical Party and the Liberal and Progressive Faction, lasted from 1855 to 1861, and was characterized by the cruelty which is usually a feature of wars wherein religious fanatics are engaged. It was precipitated by the *Ley Juarez*, and though bitterly contested and prolonged by the enormous accumulated wealth of the clergy, it was decisive, for it wrested Mexico forever from the crippling grip of the friars, and launched it on its present career of usefulness and enlightenment. The motto of the reactionary opposition was *religion y fueros*, the clergy themselves promoting revolution with the aid of the discontented military. The

reactionists plunged into the fight with the zeal of those who realize that their all is at stake, and civil war soon flamed in many parts of the Republic. General *Miguel Miramon*, one of the anti-Presidents, led the *reaccionarios*, and was for a time successful. *Benito Juarez* and his adherents, the *Juaristas*, fought their opponents all over the country, and finding Vera Cruz the best point from which to conduct his campaign, *Juarez* established his government there (in 1858), and based his claims on the Constitution of 1857. Engagements were hotly contested at Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Las Cuevitas, Pachuca, Perote, and Ahualulco. Prior to these, the clergy at Puebla revolted, under the leadership of Bishop Haro, and that town was the scene of battles and sieges. *Juarez* narrowly escaped execution at Guadalajara in 1857, and by the capture of Zacatecas, General *Leandro Marquez* attained eminence as a reactionary leader, and began a career of cruelty scarcely paralleled in Mexican history.

Encouraged by his successes, *Miramon* attempted (Feb., 1859) to capture Vera Cruz, the seat of the Constitutional Government: for a month he ineffectually besieged the port, and was then forced to hurry to the capital, which was threatened by the *Juaristas*. A furious battle was fought at Tacubaya, and General *Marquez*, not content with victory, executed a number of prisoners, among them six physicians who had gone from the capital to care for the wounded *Juaristas*. This exploit gained him the title of *El Tigre* (tiger) *de Tacubaya*, and for the town, the title of *Tacubaya de los Mártires*.

Early in 1860, *Miramon* returned to his design of capturing Vera Cruz, and in March — after having borrowed $300,000 from the clergy at Mexico City — he appeared before that port. In preparing to besiege the city he sent to Havana and purchased two steam vessels and munitions of war, to be brought to V. C. to coöperate with his land forces. The approach of these two vessels (the *General Miramon* and the *Marqués de la Habana*) was disputed by the squadrons of other nations, then in the port of V. C., and as they were unable to show ship's papers, they were regarded as semi-piratical. *Juarez* requested the United States squadron to examine the papers of the two vessels, and in the attempt to do so the *General Miramon* made some resistance and a U. S. frigate was fired upon. The commander at once seized the ships and took them to New Orleans for further investigation. The delay gained by their detention was valuable to the *Juaristas*, resulting in *Miramon's* failure in his attack on V. C. Later the siege was renewed and the town was bombarded from the 15th to the 20th of March. March 21, the siege was raised, and the disgusted reactionists returned to the capital.

On July 12, when the prospects of victory seemed the most doubtful, *Juarez* showed his Indian doggedness and his belief in a just cause by issuing the celebrated *Leyes de Reforma* (Reform Laws), the most transcendental decrees issued by a Mexican up to that time. They contributed greatly toward the ending of the war. These laws deprived the reactionaries of their resources and broke the power of the party. They provided for religious toleration, for the general curtailment of the power of the clergy in the exercise of their alleged rights, exclaustrated conventual holdings, adjusted the law of civil marriage, and secularized the cemeteries. Religious orders and religious communities were dissolved, as being contrary to public welfare. The nation was entitled to possess all the properties of the clergy, both religious and secular, and the Church was denied the right to possess landed properties. Church and State were separated, and religious freedom of thought was established. The clergy were disallowed a stipend from the State, and were thenceforth to receive such compensation for their services as might be voluntarily bestowed by their parishioners. Marriage, by being considered a civil contract only, was freed from restraints and expenses previously imposed upon it by the clergy — a provision far-reaching in its power for good. The operation of the law converted the country from the position of an immense priest-ridden camp to that of a free nation.[1]

The Church did not submit tamely to this tremendous edict. It had ruled the helpless people for over three cen-

[1] The wealth of the Church in Mexico, says an authority, was astounding. A census taken 15 years previously had estimated that there were 2,000 nuns, 1,700 monks, and 3,500 secular clergy in Mexico, and that the number of their conventual estates was 150. The nuns alone possessed 58 estates, or properties, producing an annual revenue of $560,000; in addition to a floating capital of $4,500,000, producing an annual income of $250,000. While the above number of clergy was inadequate to the spiritual needs of a population estimated at seven millions, it was small indeed to be the possessor of estates worth at least $90,000,000, which, at that time, was said to be at least one third of all the wealth in Mexico. Huge convents occupied a considerable part of the site of Mexico City, Puebla, Morelia, Guadalajara, Querétaro, and other cities. A portion of the income of the convents was derived from endowments, amounting to a large sum. To support the high ecclesiastics, great amounts were derived from tithes. The Archbishop of Mexico had an income of $130,000 a year; the Bishop of Puebla, $110,000; of Michoacan, $100,000; and of Guadalajara, $90,000. Mexico City was more like a great religious camp than a mercantile centre. The enormous wealth of the Church made it a very prominent factor in politics, and it could upset and establish governments at its pleasure, or ferment the many revolutions which were constantly breaking out. When the Mexicans rose in their war for independence, the royal authorities took a portion of the Church's wealth — which had been wrung from the Mexicans — to defeat them in their struggle.

Mexico City owes many of its fine streets to the Reform Laws, which enabled the Government to demolish churches and convents and cut avenues through their spacious grounds.

There are said to be over ten thousand churches and chapels at present in Mexico which are subject to Roman Catholic control.

turies, and it now stirred up the national strife to the extent of pitting members of the same family against each other. It threw the religion-loving people into a panic by threatening to excommunicate all who professed Liberal ideas. The priests so crazed the populace that the temporary ambition of every Mexican seemed to be to kill some one. Nearly two hundred thousand Mexicans were engaged in the war, and the loss of life was appalling. The conflict between the Liberals and the Conservatives waged in nearly every section of the country. The roads swarmed with *bandidos*, and the condition of the country was deplorable.

But in the quiet, stern, far-seeing Indian from Oaxaca the Church in New Spain found its Waterloo. The task which confronted *Juarez* would have staggered a less determined man. One of his first acts, after he entered the capital, Jan. 11, 1861, was to banish the Bishops and with them the Papal Nuncio and the Spanish Envoy. The properties left to the Church were confiscated, and former clerical estates were let out to farmers on payment of 12% of their values. Archbishop *La Bastida*, ex-President *Miramon*, and other Conservatives went to Paris, and from there still planned the undoing of long-suffering Mexico. An act of doubtful statesmanship on the part of the new Congress aided them in their plans. In July, 1861, Congress approved the decree issued by the President suspending, for two years, all payments on account of foreign debts. *Juarez* was heart and soul for Mexico — the stanch friend of the United States, but suspicious of Europe. Mexico at this time owed Great Britain some $50,000,000, contracted by the splendor-loving *Santa Anna* during his meteoric career. Financial ruin stared Mexico in the face, and *Juarez* meant well for the country when he suspended interest on this foreign debt. Two years would enable him to bring order out of chaos, and then a progressive Mexico could easily meet its obligations. But this suspension gave the ecclesiastical malcontents the opening they desired, and paved the way for —

n. **The French Intervention, Maximilian and the Second Empire.** "For a better understanding of the causes which led up to the execution of this unfortunate Prince of the House of Hapsburg, it is well to recall that after the peace of Villafranca, the Emperor Napoleon III was sincerely desirous to heal the political wounds which had been made by his military operations in Italy, and to find some compensation for the injuries he had inflicted on the Emperor of Austria.

"From certain eminent Mexicans who were residing in Paris, among them *La Bastida*, the ex-Archbishop of Mexico; the ex-President *Miramon*, *Gutiérrez de Estrada*, and *Almonte* — the Emperor learned that various Papal intrigues were under way

and that attempts had been made by leaders of influence in the then seceding Southern States of America to come to an understanding with persons of similar position in Mexico with a view to a political union.

"Among the advantages expected by the Southern States from such a scheme was the alluring prospect of a future brilliant empire, encircling the West India Seas, and eventually absorbing the West India Islands. To the Mexicans there would be the advantage of a stable and progressive government, with an emperor at its head, and the cessation of the internecine strife that had long torn the country. The Mexican refugees in Paris saw in the success of this scheme an end of their influence in their native country, and they considered it better for them to induce a French protectorate. The Emperor saw in this an opportunity for carrying out his friendly intentions toward the House of Austria. He immediately determined to encourage the secession of the Southern Confederate States with the view of curtailing the power of the North, to overthrow, by a military expedition, the existing Government of *Juarez* in Mexico, to establish by French arms an empire, and to offer its crown to the Austrian Archduke Maximilian.[1]

"To separate the Union for the purpose of crippling it, but not to give such a preponderance to the South as to enable it to consummate its Mexican designs, was the guiding aim of the French Government. That principle was satisfied by the recognition of belligerent rights, and by avoiding a recognition of independence. The French expedition was thus based on the disruption of the United States — a disruption considered not only by the Spanish Court and by the Emperor Napoleon as inevitable, but even by the British Government.

"The Spanish Minister in Paris, in November, 1858, had suggested to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, the advantages that would accrue from the establishment of a strong government in Mexico. Subsequently the views of the English Government were ascertained, and in April, 1860, the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that France and England were looking favorably upon the matter. The stumbling-block in the way was the opposition which might be expected from the United States. That opposition was embodied in a formula under the designation of the Monroe Doctrine, which expressed a determination not to permit the interference of European Powers on the North American Continent.

"In April, 1860, the project having advanced sufficiently, Lord John Russell informed Isturitz, the Spanish Minister,

[1] *History of the American Civil War*, by John William Draper, M.D., LL.D. (N. Y., 1870).

that England would require the protection of the Protestant worship in Mexico. The project was characterized by the selfishness which is usually the underlying principle of all nations, and the aims of the three contracting parties eventually became apparent. Spain expected that a Bourbon prince would be placed on the Mexican throne, and that she would thereby recover her ancient prestige and bind more securely to her the valuable island of Cuba. Perhaps she might even recover Mexico itself, and again bind that freedom-loving country in the chains of the ignorance and tyranny which were its lot during Spanish dominion and misrule. England, remembering the annexation of Texas, saw that it was desirable to limit the ever-threatening progress of the Republic westwardly; to prevent the encircling of the West India Seas by a power which, possibly becoming hostile, might disturb the rich islands she held; nor was she insensible to the importance of partitioning what seemed to be the cotton-field of the world. France anticipated — but the Emperor himself, concealing his real motive of compensating Austria for his Italian victories, has given us his ostensible expectations in a letter to General Forey.

"In this letter, dated July 3, 1862, Napoleon III says: 'There will not be wanting people who will ask you why we expend men and money to found a regular government in Mexico. In the present state of the civilization of the world, the prosperity of America is not a matter of indifference to Europe, for it is the country which feeds our manufactures and gives an impulse to our commerce. We have an interest in the Republic of the United States being powerful and prosperous, but not that she should take possession of the whole Gulf of Mexico, thence commanding the Antilles as well as South America, and be the only dispenser of the products of the New World. We now see by sad experience how precarious is the lot of a branch of manufactures which is compelled to produce its raw material in a single market, all the vicissitudes of which it has to bear. If, on the contrary, Mexico maintains her independence and the integrity of her territory, if a stable government be there established with the assistance of France, we shall have restored to the Latin race on the other side of the Atlantic all its strength and prestige; we shall have guaranteed security to our West India colonies and to those of Spain; we shall have established a friendly influence in the centre of America, and that influence, by creating numerous markets for our commerce, will procure us the raw materials indispensable for our manufactures. Mexico, thus regenerated, will always be well disposed to us, not only out of gratitude, but because her interests will be in accord with ours, and because she will find support in her friendly relations with European

Powers. At present, therefore, our military honor engaged, the necessities of our policy, the interests of our industry and commerce, all conspire to make it our duty to march on Mexico, boldly to plant our flag there, and to establish either a monarchy, if not incompatible with the national feeling, or at least a government which may promise some stability.'

"As soon as it was ascertained that the Southern States were sufficiently powerful to resist the National Government, and that a partition of the Union was impending, the chief obstacle in the way of the Mexican movement seemed to be removed. Throughout the spring and summer of 1861, the three contracting powers kept that result steadfastly in mind, and omitted nothing that might tend to its accomplishment. This was the true reason of the concession of belligerent rights to the Southern Confederacy in May. The downfall of Juarez was the next business in hand.

"Affairs had so far progressed that, on November 20, 1861, a convention was signed in London between France, England, and Spain. In this it was agreed that a joint force should be sent by the three allies to Mexico; that no special advantages should be sought for by them individually, and no internal influence on Mexico exerted. A commission was designated to distribute the indemnity they proposed to exact. The ostensible reason put forth for the movement was the decree of the Mexican Government, July 17, 1861, suspending payment on the foreign debt.

"The allied expedition reached Vera Cruz about the end of the year. Not without justice did the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs complain of their 'friendly but indefinite promises, the real object of which nobody unravels.' Although M. Thouvenel was incessantly assuring the British Government, even as late as May, 1862, that France had no intentions of imposing a government on Mexico, it became obvious that there was no more sincerity in this engagement than there had been in imputing the grievances of the invaders to the Mexican decree of the preceding July. The ostensible cause was a mere pretext to get a military foothold in the country. Very soon, however, it became impossible for the French to conceal their intentions. England and Spain withdrew from the expedition, the alleged cause on the part of the former being the presence of Almonte, and other Mexican emigrants of known monarchical opinions, with the French, and a resolution not to join in military operations in the interior of the country; on the part of the latter, the true reason was that not a Spanish prince, but Maximilian, was to be placed on the Mexican throne — a disappointment to the Spanish commander, the Count de Reuss (General Prim), who had pictured for himself a viceroy's coronet.

"The French entered the City of Mexico in July, 1863. The time had now come for throwing off the mask, and the name of Maximilian was introduced as a candidate for the empire. Commissioners were appointed to go through Paris and Rome to Miramar with a view of soliciting the consent of that Prince. A regency was appointed until he could be heard from. It consisted of Almonte, Salas, and the Archbishop La Bastida. Maximilian had already covenanted with the Pope to restore to the Mexican Church her mortmain property, estimated at two hundred millions of dollars. In Mexico there were but two parties, the Liberal and the Ecclesiastical. The latter was conciliated by that covenant: but as to the national sentiment, the collection of suffrages in behalf of the new empire was nothing better than a mere farce.

"An empire was established in Mexico. Well might the leaders of the Southern Confederacy be thunderstruck! Was this the fulfilment of that promise which had lured them into the gulf of revolt — the promise which had been used with such fatal effect in Charleston? Well might it be expected in France, as is stated by Keratry, that 'the Confederates proposed to avenge themselves for the overthrow of the secret hopes which had been encouraged from the very outset of the contest by the cabinet of the Tuileries, which had accorded to them the belligerent character, and had, after all, abandoned them.'

"Yet no one in America, either of the Northern or the Southern States, imputed blame to the French people in these bloody and dark transactions. All saw clearly on whom the responsibility rested. And when, in the course of events, it seemed to become necessary that the French army should leave Mexico, it was the general desire that nothing should be done which might by any possibility touch the sensibilities of France. But the Republic of the West was forever alienated from the dynasty of Napoleon.

"Events showed that the persons who were charged with the administration of the Richmond Government had not ability equal to their task. The South did not select her best men. In the unskilful hands of those who had charge of it, secession proved to be a failure. The Confederate resources were recklessly squandered, not skilfully used. Ruin was provoked.

"When it became plain that the American Republic was about to triumph over its domestic enemies in the Civil War, and that it was in possession of irresistible military power, they who in the Tuileries had plotted the rise of Maximilian in 1861, now plotted his ruin. The betrayed emperor found that in that palace two languages were spoken. In the agony of his soul he exclaimed, 'I am tricked!' In vain his princess crossed the Atlantic, and though denied access, forced her

way into the presence of Napoleon III, in her frantic grief upbraiding herself before him that, in accepting a throne from his hand, she had forgotten that she was a daughter of the race of Orleans[1]—in vain she fell at the feet of the Pope deliriously imploring his succor.

"The American Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, adopted a firm but dignified course with the French Government. With a courteous audacity, he did not withhold his doubts as to the sincerity and fidelity of the Emperor; with inexorable persistence he demanded categorically that the French occupation should come to an end. A date once set, he held the French Government to its word. 'Tell M. Moustier,' he says, in a despatch to the American Minister in Paris, 'that our Government is astonished and distressed at the announcement, now made for the first time, that the promised withdrawal of French troops from Mexico, which ought to have taken place in November (this month), has been put off by the Emperor. You will inform the Emperor's Government that the President desires and sincerely hopes that the evacuation of Mexico will be accomplished in conformity with the existing arrangement, so far as the inopportune complication necessitating this despatch will permit. On this point Mr. Campbell will receive instructions. Instructions will also be sent to the military forces of the United States, which are placed in a spot of observation, and are waiting the special orders of the President: and this will be done with the confidence that the telegraph or the courier will bring us intelligence of a satisfactory resolution on the part of the Emperor in reply to this note. You will assure the French Government that the United States, in wishing to free Mexico, have nothing so much at heart as preserving peace and friendship with France.'

"The French recognised that the position of the two nations had become inverted. The United States now gave orders. Even by the French themselves it was said, 'The United States tracked French policy step by step; never had the French Government been subject to such a tyrannical dictation. Formerly France had spoken boldly, saying, through M. Drooyn de Lhuy to Mr. Dayton, the American representative at Paris, "Do you bring us peace or war?" Now Maximilian is falling in obedience to orders from Washington. He is falling a victim to the weakness of our Government in allowing its conduct to be dictated by American arrogance. Indeed, before rushing into such perilous contingencies, might not the attitude of the United States have been easily foreseen? Our statesmen needed no rare perspicuity to have dis-

[1] *Marie Carlota Amelie* (born near Brussels June 7, 1840) was the daughter of Leopold I, King of Belgium. She married Maximilian June 27, 1857.

covered the dark shadow of the Northern Republic looming up on the horizon over the *Rio Bravo* frontier, and only biding its time to make its appearance on the scene.'

"Only one thing was now thought of in Paris, and that was to leave as soon as possible this land of destroyed illusions and bitter sacrifices. Was there ever such a catalogue of disappointed expectations as is presented in this Mexican tragedy? The Southern secession leaders engaged in dreaming of a tropical empire which they never realized: they hoped it would bring a recognition of their independence, and they were betrayed. The English were beguiled into it as a means of checking the growth of a commercial rival, and of protecting their West Indian possessions. They were duped into the belief that there was no purpose of interfering with the Government of Mexico. They consented to the perilous measures of admitting the belligerent rights of the South. They lent what aid they could to the partition of a nation with which they were at peace. They found that the secret intention was the establishment of an empire in the interests of France, the conciliation of Austria for military reverses in Italy, and the curbing of the Anglo-Saxon by the Latin race. England expected to destroy a democracy, and has gathered her reward by becoming more democratic herself. The Pope gave his countenance to the plot, having received a promise of the elevation of the Mexican Church to her pristine splendor, and the restoration of her mortmain estates; but the Archbishop La Bastida, who was one of the three regents representing her great influence, was insulted and removed from his political office by the French. In impotent retaliation, he discharged at his assailants the rusty ecclesiastical blunderbuss of past days — he excommunicated the French army. The Spaniards did not regain their former colony; the brow of the Count de Reuss was never adorned with a vice-regal coronet. The noble and devoted wife of Maximilian was made a wanderer in the sight of all Europe, her diadem removed, her reason dethroned.

"For Maximilian himself there was not reserved the pageantry of an imperial court in the Indian palaces of Montezuma, but the death-volley of a grim file of Mexican soldiers, under the frowning shadow of the heights of Querétaro. For the Emperor of Austria, there was not the homage of a transatlantic crown; Mexico sent him across the ocean, a coffin and a corpse. For France, ever great and just, in whose name so many crimes were perpetrated, but who is responsible for none of them, there was a loss of that which in her eyes is of infinitely more value than the six hundred millions of francs which were cast into this Mexican abyss. For the Emperor — can anything be more terrible than the despatch which was sent to America at the close of the great Exposi-

tion? — 'There remain now no sovereigns in Paris except the Emperor Napoleon III and the spectre of Maximilian at his elbow.'"

Toward the close of December the Spanish squadron cast anchor in the harbor of Vera Cruz. Early in January, 1862, English and French war-ships arrived. They jointly took possession of the port, and sent a note to the Mexican Government explaining the ostensible causes and aims of the expedition. The Government invited them to a conference having for its aim the reaching of an amicable settlement. This conference was held in Orizaba. As the Mexican Government was unprepared for war with a foreign power, it was agreed that the allies should hold Córdoba, Orizaba, and Tehuacan pending a satisfactory adjustment. If an agreement were not reached, the allies were to retire to the coast before beginning hostilities.

While negotiations were in progress, the commissioners of the English and Spanish Governments (April 9) announced their intention to withdraw and reëmbark their troops. This was done as speedily as possible. The French commissioner declared it was the intention of his government to push the enterprise to completion.

Violating their agreement to retire to the coast, they awaited reinforcements, which arrived under the command of General Lorences. At the head of six thousand men he marched toward the capital. He appeared before Puebla May 4, and on May 5, began the assault of the city. He was defeated by General Zaragoza at the head of 4,000 Mexican troops.

The French again attacked Puebla, which was heroically defended by Gonsales Ortega with 12,000 men, aided by General Comonfort with a strong outlying division. On May 8, Bazaine routed Comonfort, and on the 17th Puebla capitulated to vastly superior forces. The French continued their march to the capital. President Juarez, after issuing a manifesto to the nation, exhorting them to continue the struggle, abandoned the city May 31. He retired toward the north, accompanied by troops under Generals *Don Porfirio Diaz* and *Don Juan José de la Garza.*

On June 11, Mexico City was officially occupied by the French troops. The Conservative Party accorded General Forey an enthusiastic reception. A *junta* composed of 35 members of the Conservative Party was formed, and they in turn created another *junta* with the title of *Regencia* and headed by *Don Juan Almonte*, one of the most active agents in the establishment of the monarchy in Mexico.

On June 10, 1863, a *junta* convoked by General Forey and composed of 200 adherents of the Conservative Party formally declared:—

"The Nation accepts an hereditary monarchy headed by a

Catholic prince who will bear the title of Emperor. It offers the crown to Archduke Fernando Maximilian of Austria."

Meanwhile Juarez had established his temporary government in San Luis Potosí, whence, on June 10, it moved to Saltillo. Later it moved to Chihuahua, and thence to Paso del Norte, now Ciudad Juarez.

Maximilian accepted the crown of the new empire in consideration of three million *pesos* advanced by Napoleon III to enable him to pay some of his debts. The compact was signed at the Château of Miramar, April 10, 1864. From that date his allowance was $125,000 a month: that of Carlota $16,666.66, making a sum total of $1,700,000 annually paid by impoverished Mexico for the privilege of having its distracted country mismanaged by a foreign potentate.

The Archduke and his consort embarked on the Austrian war-ship *La Novara*, April 14, 1864. Arriving at Civita-Vecchia they went direct to Rome, where they lodged at the Palacio Marescotta. After a visit from the King of Naples and Cardinal Antonelli, they attended a special mass at the Vatican, received the communion from the hands of the Pope, and sailed for Mexico April 20.

On May 28, *La Novara* dropped anchor in the harbor of Vera Cruz. The next morning Maximilian and his suite disembarked and received the keys of the city. Gayly decorated carriages conveyed them up the mountains to Córdoba and Orizaba, where they were received with flowers and acclamations. They arrived at Puebla June 5, where a great celebration was held (the 7th) in honor of Carlota's birthday. They passed the night of the 11th at Guadalupe, and made their triumphal entry into the capital on the morning of June 12.[1]

Coincident with the arrival of Maximilian, the monarchical form of government began its functions. Troubles also arose. The Archduke was not lacking in advanced ideas, and from the first he essayed to win the good will of the Liberals, a difficult task in view of their intense hostility to the Conservatives whom the Emperor represented. In turn he gained the ill will of the Conservatives by refusing to annul or modify the *Leyes de Reforma*.

Money was the shibboleth of his brief reign. The extravagant etiquette of the Austrian Court was implanted in the Aztec capital, and it became the theatre of glittering court

[1] In view of the fact that one of the ostensible causes of the French intervention was the decree repudiating Mexico's foreign debts (because of her inability to pay them), it is interesting to note the minor expenditures consequent to bringing Maximilian and his suite to Mexico.

Given to various persons to induce the Emperor to come	$104,902.32
Furniture and improvements in the Palace at Mexico	101,011.83
Furniture and art objects for Chapultepec and Orizaba	15,210.50
Reception at Vera Cruz and Mexico City	115,348.41
Total	$336,473.06

balls, regal receptions, and splendid social functions. To meet the ever-increasing expenses of the lavish court, loans were contracted in Paris and London, and valuable franchises were sold to the foreign adventurers who flocked to the seat of the new empire.

In marked contrast to affairs at the capital, turmoil reigned in the interior cities and towns. In those garrisoned by a sufficient number of French troops, an illusory peace was maintained by force of arms. A perpetual guerrilla warfare was waged in many of the country districts. At first the Mexicans suffered heavily at the hands of the French, but the revolutionists gained strength, and in 1866 disquieting rumors reached the capital and disturbed the Emperor in his fancied security.

With a woman's perspicacity, the Empress detected the trend of events and she proposed a trip to Paris and Rome, with the aim of urging Napoleon III to fulfil the promises made at Miramar, and to invite the aid of the Pope to unravel the ecclesiastical tangle which perplexed the struggling monarchy.

On July 6 a special *Te Deum* was held in the Cathedral, and on the 13th the Empress embarked at Vera Cruz on the *Empératriz Eugenia*. When she left Mexico she turned her back upon her husband and an imperial diadem, both forever lost to her.

Napoleon received the Empress coldly. Both indulged in violent and acrimonious recrimination; the Emperor refusing absolutely to furnish further resources, whether military or pecuniary. The interview served only to strain the already tenuous relations between Napoleon and Maximilian. The vainglorious French Emperor had his own troubles. Spurred and vexed by the veiled orders of the United States to withdraw his troops from American soil, he sought but the means to comply and preserve his dignity. The soldiers themselves were constantly harassed by the Mexican guerrillas, and they yearned for La Belle France and for the cessation of a bootless struggle on alien soil.

A victim to the darkest forebodings, the unhappy Empress repaired to Miramar, where, on the 16th of Sept., a banquet celebrating the Independence of Mexico was given. Unwilling to relinquish the Mexican crown and again be merely an Archduchess of Austria, the ambitious woman started for Rome with all her hopes centred in the Pope. She made her official visit to the Vatican on September 27. On being received by the Pontiff she fell into a nervous paroxysm, and as if possessed of an awful terror she exclaimed: "I have been poisoned by order of Napoleon III, and those without have accomplished it."[1] Hope had died out of her proud heart and her reason went with it.

[1] There are Mexicans who say the Empress was secretly poisoned with *Matlazahuatl* (a deadly native drug) before she departed from Mexico.

The sad notice all but crushed Maximilian, and his sole remaining ambition was to leave Mexico and reach the side of his unfortunate wife. Prevailed upon by the Conservative Party to remain, he did so, and unwittingly sealed his own fate.

The year 1867 opened menacingly for the empire. The Liberal forces in the north had captured town after town. Napoleon had named early spring as the date for the withdrawal of his troops, but the urgency of Mr. Seward and the interview with the Empress Carlota hastened his plans, and the last of the French troops reached Mexico City Jan. 15, homeward bound. On Feb. 5, the French flag was hauled down from over the home of the Marshal, in Buena Vista (p. 340), and the army filed out of the city. From behind the curtained window of the palace, Maximilian watched its departure in silence.

Hard-pushed by the Liberals, the generals of the Imperialist cause had united in Querétaro. Accompanied by his Ministers of State, aides, doctor, secretary, and two thousand armed men under General Leonardo Marquez, Maximilian left the capital Feb. 13. A special *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral at Querétaro the day of his arrival. On the same day General Mendez arrived on his retreat from Morelia. On March 20, Querétaro was closely besieged by the Liberal forces.

When the Emperor left Mexico City, he believed he was to lead a campaign against the enemy. Great was his surprise to learn that he had deliberately entered a beleaguered city, now completely surrounded by Liberal troops under Generals Escobedo and Corona. Once trapped, his position was perilous. Numerous but ineffectual attempts were made to break the cordon. Ammunition grew scarce, rations diminished, and the city was taken by the Republican forces May 15. Maximilian, Miramon, and Mejia were imprisoned in a cell in the existing Capuchin Convent. The court-martial that tried them was convened in the Yturbide Theatre at 10 A. M., June 14. The Emperor was suffering from an acute attack of illness and was not present. On June 15, the court united in a sentence of death.

When she made her piteous appeal for help to Napoleon III, she was quite sane, though sadly wrought up by intense emotion, but failure unhinged her mind, and when she hurried off to the Pope, she was demented. To the horror of the Papal Court, she burst into the presence of His Holiness wearing a bonnet instead of the black mantilla rigorously insisted upon in such an audience; and to the still greater horror of Cardinal Antonelli and of the Pope himself, she insisted on staying overnight at the Vatican. As, however, force could not be used to eject her, the Pope had to order two beds to be placed in the library for the Empress and one of her ladies — an unheard-of desecration! Indeed, they could get rid of the hapless Empress next day only by the ruse of getting two nuns to persuade her to visit their convent, where she became so violent that she had to be put into a strait-jacket!

The President of the United States and the sovereigns of Great Britain, France, and Austria tried to save his life. Victor Hugo wrote Juarez a strong and stirring appeal, and besought him to pardon Maximilian. The Princess Salm-Salm rode 120 miles across country, and on her knees implored Juarez to spare his life. He refused to annul the order. In connection with the Austrian, Belgian, and Italian Ministers and the French Consul, she planned a nocturnal flight from the convent. This plan failed. Maximilian's counsel went to President Juarez at San Luis Potosí and urged a commutation of the sentence. But as Maximilian himself had, in his famous decree of October 3, condemned to death any Mexican found with arms against the monarchy, Juarez refused the plea. He confirmed by telegraph, at 11 A. M., on June 16, the death sentence pronounced against Fernando Maximilian of Hapsburg. The jailer immediately announced the news to the prisoners.

Shortly after daylight on the morning of June 19, 1867, a division composed of 4,000 men marched to the suburb of Querétaro and formed a square at the foot of *El Cerro de las Campanas* — The Hill of the Bells. In their cells in the Capuchin Convent three men dressed for the ordeal.

They had scarcely finished when a soldier opened the heavy door and said: *¡Ya es hora!* — the time has come. Maximilian, Miramon, and Mejia, accompanied by a Catholic priest, Father Soria, stepped into the carriage awaiting them and were quickly driven through a silent multitude to the place of execution. The carriage reached *El Cerro de las Campanas* at 7.15. Maximilian descended first and was followed by his generals, who walked with firm steps. About halfway up the hill was an *adobe* wall, constructed during the siege as a breastwork, guarding the more important fortification upon the summit — the last point to surrender and where Maximilian was captured. In front of this wall the prisoners were stationed and the firing-parties told off. The men embraced each other, and took a last look at the winsome blue sky of a faultless day.

Maximilian distributed some gold coins among the soldiers who were to shoot him, and in a clear, vibrant voice exclaimed: "I die in a just cause, the Independence and Liberty of Mexico. I forgive all, and I pray that all may forgive me. May my blood flow for the good of my adopted country. *¡Viva Mexico!*" Miramon uttered a few words. Mejia remained silent. It is said that Mejia comforted Maximilian in his last hours by assuring him that Carlota had died in Europe. Maximilian asked as a favor that he might be shot in the body, so that when his body was sent to Austria his mother might once more look upon his face.

Maximilian, Miramon, and Mejia fell dead at the first volley. A second fire was directed against the body of the

Emperor. It was then placed in a rude coffin and taken to a room in the *Palacio de Gobierno*. The body was there inspected by President Juarez.[1]

o. **The Restored Republic.** When Juarez again entered the capital on July 15, 1867, after an absence of five years, his return signalized the rise of the new Republic and the culmination of his own fame. The Constitution of 1857 was made once more effective, and the national energies were directed toward repairing the waste caused by the long war. Railways and telegraphs were installed, and the country was developed internally.

Congress reëlected Juarez president in Oct., 1871, and he took the oath as a constitutional president for the third time on Dec. 1. A number of would-be presidents "pronounced" against him, but each attempt to return to the old method of governing the country by force was promptly squelched.

The sudden death of Juarez on July 18, 1872, raised Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada (then president of the Supreme Court of Justice) to the presidency. During his three years' tenure of office several articles were added to the Constitution; one in particular suppressing the last remaining religious order — the Sisters of Charity. The government under Tejada was unpopular with the people, and a remedy was provided in the revolt headed by General Porfirio Diaz in 1876. The new revolution, which soon plunged the entire country into another civil war, had for its base the *Plan de Tuxtepec*, promulgated in Oaxaca, Jan. 15. It was the most significant of all the revolutions to date, since it gave Mexico its greatest ruler. Under the command of General Diaz the revolutionary army carried out an energetic and successful campaign. Tejada fled to the United States, and General

[1] The body of the unfortunate Emperor now lies in the Austrian Imperial vault in the Capuchin Church at Vienna. The Prince was a rear-admiral in the Austrian Navy, and before his ill-starred expedition to Mexico, where he was sacrificed to the perfidy of Napoleon III, he resided in Trieste in a beautiful chateau called Miramar. In the Piazza Giuseppe, in Trieste, stands a fine bronze monument (by Schilling), erected in 1875 to his memory. Miramon and Mejia are buried in the Panteón de San Fernando (Mexico City). There are good paintings of Maximilian and the Empress Carlota in the National Museum at Mex. City.

The student should consult *History of Mexico*, by Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco, 1888), vol. vi, pp. 318 *et seq.* — *My Diary in Mexico in* 1867, including the Last Days of the Emperor Maximilian, with Leaves from the Diary of the Princess Salm-Salm, by Felix Salm-Salm, London, 1868. — *Life of Maximilian I, Late Emperor of Mexico, with a sketch of the Empress Carlota*, by Frederic Hall, New York, 1868. — *Méjico desde* 1808 *hasta* 1867, by Francisco de P. Arrangoiz, Mexico, 1872 (a good historical picture of the Second Empire). — *Reseña Histórica de la Formación y Operaciones del Cuerpo de Ejército del Norte durante la Intervención Francesa, Sitio de Querétaro y Noticias Oficiales sobre la captura de Maximillano, su Proceso Integro y su Muerte*, by Juan de Dios Arias, Mexico, 1867. — *Guerre du Mexique*, 1861-1867, by L. Le Saint, Paris, 1868. — *Erinnerungen aus Mexico, Geschichte der letzten zehn Monate des Kaiserreisch*, by S. Basch, Leipsic, 1868.

Diaz entered Mexico City Nov. 24, 1876, and was proclaimed Provisional President. The following April, Congress formally decreed that he be Constitutional President for a term ending in Nov., 1880. A strong man was now at the head of the government. Diplomatic relations with France were resumed; railway construction was pushed; incipient revolutions were killed in their cradle, and the nation was led gently but firmly into the path of peace and progress.

In 1880, the term for which Diaz had been elected expired, and albeit many of his great plans for the regeneration of the country were still in embryo, he steadfastly adhered to his purpose of abiding by the constitutional provision that rendered him ineligible for a succeeding term. The moral worth of the man had perhaps never been subjected to a severer test.

On Sept. 25, 1880, General Don Manuel Gonzales was legally elected the successor of the retiring president. The high principles of Diaz were beyond the grasp of the new president, whose reign was characterised by riots, and similar manifestations of the popular discontent. In 1883, the "nickel riots" came near to ending the Gonzales administration, as did likewise the proposal of a very unpopular plan for liquidating Mexico's English debt. The admirable administration of Porfirio Diaz had elevated the nation to a higher moral plane than it had occupied hitherto; the dormant national conscience had been awakened, and the Mexicans, for the first time in many years, had acquired an interest in their reputation at home and abroad. A new element had been introduced into national affairs. So deep and so lasting was the impression made by this greatest Mexican that the people refrained from ousting Gonzales: biding their time, they shelved their grievances, and patiently waited until events should once more place Diaz at the head of the nation.

This occurred in 1884, when General Diaz was, with practical unanimity, reëlected. His second term was soon marked by financial reforms which aided to repair the large deficit left by the Gonzales administration. The credit of the nation was soon recognized by all the exchanges of Europe. Immense sums were spent on public improvements; free schools were organized; education became compulsory, and the *alcabales*, or local state duties — a long-surviving and pernicious relic of Spanish colonial days — were abolished. The drainage canal — that colossal project which had puzzled the minds of Mexico's rulers since the 14th century — was undertaken and carried to successful completion. The solving of this great problem alone was of incalculable benefit to the inhabitants of the Valley of Mexico.

Diaz also instituted other wholesome reforms: he reduced the president's salary from $30,000 to $15,000, and ordered a reduction of from 15 to 20 % in the salaries of many govern-

ment employees. The matter of reorganizing the army was handled with consummate skill; ere long the country was rid of the *bandidos* which had formerly infested the highways, and the most prominent bandit chiefs not only became stanch supporters of the Government, but zealous exterminators of their own kind as well. Transcendental results were attained in the stimulus given to education. In 1888, the Constitution was, by popular acclamation, amended to allow a president two consecutive terms. As the now thoroughly aroused nation began to fear that it might lose its famous leader, all limitations were abolished (in 1892), and as no single man in the Republic was found to embody the remarkable wisdom and statesmanship of Porfirio Diaz, this Greatest Mexican succeeded himself in the presidency with a lack of friction that would have amazed the older political agitators. This great man possessed the wisdom and the statesmanship, the strong arm and the steadfast purpose, necessary to weld the warring factions, to reconcile the antagonistic parties, and to lift Mexico from retrogressive chaos and launch it on a career of unexampled prosperity. Under his wise and far-seeing administration the country advanced from a position of a nondescript Latin-American Republic — not unfrequently a synonym for revolutions — to that of one of the progressive nations of the world. The Mexico of Diaz was orderly, progressive and respected. Its credit was of the highest.

Porfirio Diaz was born in Oaxaca City, Sept. 15, 1830. His father was of Spanish parentage; his mother was a Mestiza (of a Spanish Asturian father and a pure-bred Mixtec Indian), and both were poor and humble. At an early age Porfirio showed such marked characteristics that they attracted the attention of Benito Juarez, then Governor of the State of Oaxaca, who later instilled into him many admirable qualities. The lad took to things military just as did the young Napoleon. Reserved, studious, brave, and wise, he soon became noted for a fervid patriotism, rare executive ability, and an unalterable will. A captain in the army at 32, his bravery soon obtained for him the title of General, and ere long he became a prominent figure in the military life of the Republic. From his second election to the presidency in 1884, his fame, separated from spectacular military exploits, began to acquire a solid and enduring form. He is the wisest and most beneficent ruler Mexico has ever had. Few men are more patriotic, few more far-seeing and more self-sacrificing, and few indeed are more beloved. No words can add to, or detract from, his fame, which is as enduring as the hills.

Consult *Life of Porfirio Diaz*, by Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco, 1887), *Porfirio Diaz*, by Mrs. A. Tweedie (London, 1907), *Porfirio Diaz, La Evolución de su Vida*, by Licenciado Rafael de Zayas Enriquez (New York, 1908), *Un Pueblo, un Siglo y un Hombre*, by Dr. Fortunato Hernandez (Mexico, 1909), *Porfirio Diaz*, by José F. Godoy (New York, 1910).

Chronological Table of the Chief Events in Mexican History.

I. From the Earliest Times to the Spanish Conquest.

7th Cent. The Toltecs, advancing from a northerly direction, entered the territory of Anáhuac at the close of the Seventh Century.

1100. The Toltecs, who had extended their sway over the remotest borders of Anáhuac, disappeared from the land as silently and as mysteriously as they had entered it.

1200. A numerous and rude tribe, called the Chichimecs, entered the deserted country from the far Northwest.

1200–1300. Other races, of a higher civilization, followed the Chichimecs and reached the country from the North. The most noted of these were the Aztecs, or Mexicans.

1325. The Mexicans establish themselves in the Valley of Anáhuac and call their settlement Tenochtitlán.

1485. Hernan Cortés is born at Medellin, Estremadura, Spain.

1492. Christopher Columbus discovers America.

1502. Montezuma II is raised to the Aztec throne.

1504. Hernan Cortés sails for Cuba.

1517. Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, in the course of a voyage of adventure from Cuba, discovers the coast of Yucatan, March 4.

II. The Spanish Invasion and the Downfall of the Aztec Empire.

1519. Cortés sails from Havana Feb. 10, lands at Tabasco (or Grijalva) March 20, at Vera Cruz April 21, begins his march to the Aztec metropolis Aug. 16, enters Tlaxcala Sept. 23, and Tenochtitlán Nov. 8.

1520. Montezuma dies June 20. The Spaniards evacuate Tenochtitlán on the night (*Noche Triste*) of July 1.

1521. Cortés lays siege to Tenochtitlán, which is subjugated Aug. 13.

III. Mexico under the Spanish Viceroys.

1522. Cortés is Governor, Captain-General, and Chief Justice of the conquered territories of New Spain. The first Catholic church established in Mexico is founded at Tlaxcala.

1524. *Consejo* (council) *de las Indias* perfected by the King of Spain. Arrival in Mexico of the Franciscan Friars known as the Twelve Apostles.

1527. Bishopric of Mexico created. The first Bishop, Juan de Zumárraga, collects the picture-paintings, writings and historical MSS. of the Indians from the great de-

pository of the national archives at Tescuco, and from other sources, assembles them in the market-place of Tlaltelolco, and burns them. Bigotry thus destroys the priceless annals of the first Americans.

1531. Alleged miraculous apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico.
1547. Death of Hernando Cortés, at Castilleja de la Cuesta, Spain, Dec. 2, in the 63d year of his age.
1571. The Tribunal of the Inquisition is formally established in the City of Mexico.
1691. Conquest of Texas.
1693. First newspaper established in New Spain.
1767. The Jesuits are expelled from Spanish America.
1806. Benito Pablo Juarez born March 21.
1808. Intervention of Napoleon Bonaparte in Spanish affairs. Revolution in Spain. The idea of Mexican independence germinates.

IV. Beginning of the Mexican War for Independence.

1810. The Parish Priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, fugleman of Mexican freedom, sounds the "Grito de Dolores" (Sept. 16) and the death-knell of Spanish misrule in Mexico.
1811. Hidalgo captured and shot.
1813. First Mexican Congress meets at Chilpancingo Sept. 14. Formal Declaration of Mex. Independence Nov. 6.
1814. First Constitution at Apatzingan, Oct. 22.
1820. Inquisition suppressed in Mexico, May 31.

V. Independent Mexico. The First Empire.

1821. Mexico wins Independence from Spain.
1822. First Mexican Congress. Regency installed. Agustin de Iturbide named Emperor, May 19. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna proclaims a republic.

V. Collapse of the First Empire. Rise of the Mexican Republic.

1823. Iturbide abdicates; the empire falls into ruins. Centralist and Federalist parties formed. The Monroe Doctrine (of transcendental interest to Mexico) proclaimed by the United States. Iturbide shot at Padilla, July 14.
1824. Federal Constitution proclaimed. *Estados Unidos Mexicanos* organized.
1825. The Spanish troops evacuate *El Castillo de San Juan de Ulua*. Extinction of Spain's power in Mexico.
1830. Porfirio Diaz, the Greatest Mexican, born Sept. 15.
1835. Rebellion of Texas.

1843. *Bases Orgánicas Políticas de la República Mexicana* and final Centralisation of the Government.
1845. Annexation of Texas to the United States.

VII. The War with the United States.

1846. Advance of the American General Taylor to Monterey. California and New Mexico taken by the United States. Monterey (Mexico) stormed and captured.
1847. Battle of Buena Vista, Feb. 23, Chihuahua occupied Feb. 28.
General Scott entered the Valley of Mexico Aug. 9. Battle of Churubusco, Aug. 20. Battle of "Casa Mata" and "Molino del Rey," Sept. 8. Chapultepec stormed and captured Sept. 13. Entry of American Army into the capital Sept. 15.
1848. Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (Feb. 2) ends war with the United States.
1856. President Comonfort issued (June 25) decree of *desamortización* ordering the sale, at its assessed value, of all landed estate held by the Church.
1859. Benito Juarez proclaims (July 12) the Reform Laws.

VIII. The French Intervention.

1861. Treaty of London (Oct. 31) adopted by England, France, and Spain. Their forces arrive in Vera Cruz to carry out provisions of the treaty.
1862. Treaty of London dissolved. England and Spain withdraw from Mexico. French Army advances and is defeated at Puebla in famous battle of Cinco de Mayo. Suppression of religious orders in Mexico.
1863. French troops capture Puebla and advance on the capital. The Republican Government retires to San Luis Potosí, thence to Saltillo, and later to Monterey. The French organise a government at the capital and elect Maximilian of Hapsburg Emperor of Mexico.

IX. The Second Empire. Mexico under the Austrian Archduke Maximilian.

1864. Maximilian reaches Mexico and is crowned June 12 as Emperor of Mexico.
1865. The United States Government demands the withdrawal of French troops from Mexico.
1866. The Juarez Government returns to Chihuahua.
1867. The French troops are withdrawn from Mexico in Feb. General Porfirio Diaz captures Puebla April 2.

X. Downfall of the Second Empire. Modern Mexico.

1867. Maximilian surrenders May 15 to General Escobedo, at Querétaro. Execution, on June 19, of Maximilian and Generals Mejia and Miramon, at Querétaro.
General Porfirio Diaz takes the City of Mexico June 21.
1876. General Porfirio Diaz enters Mexico City (Nov. 24) at the head of a revolutionary army and is proclaimed Provisional President.
1877. Porfirio Diaz is elected Constitutional President.
1884. Porfirio Diaz is again made President.
1888. Porfirio Diaz is again made President.
1892. Porfirio Diaz is again made President.
1896. Porfirio Diaz is again made President.
1900. Porfirio Diaz is again made President.
The great canal for draining the Valley of Mexico is completed at a cost of sixteen millions of *pesos*.
1904. Porfirio Diaz is again made President.
Guided by the strong hand of Porfirio Diaz, the greatest Mexican, the United Mexican States join the rank of great nations.
1906. Establishment of the gold standard.
Great influx of foreigners and foreign capital.
The Diaz Government inspires confidence, revolutions are things of the past, and $800,000,000 of foreign capital comes to Mexico.
1907. The national revenues exceed the expenditures by twenty-nine millions of *pesos*.
1908. A shrewd financial plan, conceived by José Yves Limantour, Mexico's greatest Minister of Finance, places the vast Mexican Central Railway System under Government control; the lines are merged with the Mexican National System under the title of Los Ferrocarriles Nacionales de Mexico.
1909. Unexampled prosperity marks the Diaz administration.
1910. Porfirio Diaz, though in his 80th year, is again elected President by an overwhelming majority.
In September the nation celebrates, with great splendor, the 100th anniversary of its independence.
The Mexican Southern Railway is absorbed by the National Railways of Mexico.
1911. A revolution, organized by Francisco Madero, causes the resignation of Porfirio Diaz as President. Civil war breaks out. Mexico is crippled in her march toward civilization.
1913. Death of Madero. Victoriano Huerta is made Constitutional President.
1914. Civil war rages in many parts of the Republic. Complications with the United States.

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